

The Nation.

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The Week.

THE candidates are busy writing letters, and the nominating conventions for setting up future Congressmen are now going on all over the country, or are in active preparation. Some of the cases have attracted more than usual attention—some for reasons honorable to the person in whom the public takes an interest, and some not so honorable. The genuine regard which Judge Hoar has secured by a high private character and a political course not without crotchets, but marked by the active and warlike virtues as well as the passive ones, has been shown in the general desire that he should not refuse the nomination in his district. He persists, however, and has written a letter to that effect addressed to his constituents. It is not a merely official document. He takes occasion to make some remarks on the character of Congress, and seems to think that a great deal of idle, flippant accusation has been brought against it. This is no doubt true, but the amount of scandalous matter revealed by Congressional committees, and admitted as proved, would afford the newspapers a far better justification for their too numerous inaccuracies than Judge Hoar could readily find for his implied charge against the press. Judge Hoar's assertion that Congress accomplishes well some excellent work, and that most Congressmen are honest men, is not really questioned, and to make it seems needless. But perhaps Massachusetts politics may explain his putting in that plea, when further on we come to what the boys call a side-winder for a gallant Massachusetts general, as thus: most Congressmen are good; and they showed it last winter by making short work of corruptionists and their friends—of the tribe of "office-jobbers, contract-jobbers, informers, moiety-men, plunderers of the Treasury, and their promoters and allies."

Politics in Massachusetts are in a state which beggars description. Not only are the questions of the governorship and of the senatorship delicate matters, but there is a general break-up among the Congressional delegation—members resigning, declining re-election, and in every direction confusing matters dreadfully. Butler, who appears to have come to a sudden conclusion that after all silent statesmanship is the best, declines to state whether he will run for governor or go back to Congress, or go to Europe, or allow himself to be elected senator in the place which Mr. Washburn will make vacant this winter. The cloud of mystery which surrounds the movements of the General seems to breed lesser hazes or mists in all quarters. Mr. Dawes is going to retire from public life, and at the same time is going to run for the senatorship, with the advice and consent of Butler. At the same time, it is said that if the General, disgusted with the turmoil and strife of political life, should determine really to withdraw, he will be succeeded by General Cogswell, an old foe of his, and, on the other hand, his warm friend and supporter. The principal candidates for the governorship are Governor Talbot, who would like to be governor, and Mr. Henry L. Pierce, who would not. The position of Governor Talbot at the present moment is a significant illustration of the natural effects of what is known as management. He is a commonplace man of little weight and no general reputation, who, on one of the occasions when Butler failed of the nomination for governor, by that sort of good-natured compromise which one often sees in political conventions, was put on the ticket as lieutenant-governor, being supposed to be not a Butler man, but one of those who was not an anti-Butler man either. The death of Mr. Sumner, and the election of Mr. Washburn as senator, made Talbot governor, and Talbot turns out to be a determined prohibitionist, whether from policy or principle is not certain, and his sentiments on the Butler question are involved in mystery. In

other words, as the result of the compromise, or the heedless thoughtlessness of the nomination, the State has in its most important office a man whose sentiments on one of the most important questions of the day were not enquired into, and on another are not known.

In all this obscurity, one thing seems tolerably clear—that General Butler has not abandoned his ancient game of gaining control of the party organization, and that his opponents are groping about in the dark as to his intentions, and with a very dim light as to their own. The General, we are happy to say, does not appear to have the slightest chance of getting the nomination for Governor, even if he attempts it. We may observe as another hopeful sign in Massachusetts the rise in power and influence of Mr. Henry L. Pierce, one of the General's most uncompromising enemies, who has served the public well in every office he has filled, and about whom the only regret which seems to be felt in Massachusetts is that he cannot be Governor of the State and representative at the same time. Not remotely connected with Massachusetts politics, too, is the news of the renomination of Mr. Foster of Ohio, who, we hope, and do not doubt, is preparing himself during the long quiet summer days for a repetition of the manly warfare in which he engaged last winter.

The report of the Arkansas Investigating Committee appointed by Congress at the last session promises to be of a very lively character, though we imagine that the gentlemen of the committee are not going to find it an easy matter to reconcile all the evidence. But judging by what we hear from excellent authority, one committeeman, Mr. Ward, will have less difficulty than his fellow-members in coming to a conclusion; his method of reaching it will, however, call for an explanation. This impartial investigator—who has already expressed his opinion as favorable to the Brooksites, and has been so reported in the public prints—went to Little Rock in company with Dorsey, one of the precious Arkansas senators, was met at the railroad station by Brooks and some Brooksites, was taken to Dorsey's house and there remained during all of his stay in the town, was each morning driven in from there to attend the sessions of the committee, was met there by Judge McClure, formerly Brooks's man on the bench, Clayton, the leader of all this gang, Oliver, and others like them. The statements which these gentry imparted to him are supposed to be what Mr. Ward is now retailing to the Northern public as information derived from "leading Arkansas Republicans." This behavior would have done better in the Thaddeus Stevens and James M. Ashley days, but is now late. Still, with Mr. Ward and Judge Poland for two members of the committee, there is danger of some old-fashioned whitewashing. Everything looks, however, as if Clayton and his friends would have to rest content with what money they have got.

One specimen of the evidence before the Arkansas Committee will give this Southwestern, Baxter-Brooks liad in a nutshell. The witness is a Mr. Bartlett, a New England man, once a judge, and a Republican who at the election of 1872 scratched in voting, giving Baxter his vote for Governor, but casting it for the inferior officers on the opposition or Brooks's side. He is therefore a kind of a neutral: *Question*. "State what you know as to the origin of the difficulties between Governor Baxter and the leaders of the party that elected him" (Clayton, Dorsey, etc.) *Answer*. "As I understood it at the time, it originated with an effort on the part of the Republican party proper to carry through the railroad bill. It originated with his opposition to this bill, or with his declaring that he would defeat it." *Question*. "What was the nature of this bill?" *Answer*. "There had been \$5,200,000 State-aid bonds issued, and the object

of the bill was to make the State assume that indebtedness and take in lieu of it railroad bonds." *Question.* "Was that considered a fair equivalent?" *Answer.* "It was considered that it would have been of no value at all." To another question, the answer will be readily anticipated by any one who knows what has been the course of reconstruction in the opinion of the carpet-bagger. It has been very simple, and consisted first in getting himself into the legislature by negro votes, then pledging the State credit to one and another railroad for its relief or its construction, then selling the guaranteed bonds and as many counterfeits of them as possible. North Carolina, South Carolina, Louisiana, Arkansas, and other reconstructed States know this history. The Committee's question to Mr. Bartlett was as follows: "What was the general opinion about these bonds; that the State had the benefit of them, or the roads, or individuals?" *Answer.* "The impression on the public mind is that the bonds were divided up between the managers of the different roads" (Clayton, Dorsey and "leading Republicans of Arkansas," who fear for the social future of the black man). As a development of the sort chronologically latest, but entirely congruous, it is telegraphed that the State Constitutional Convention now in session is considering the propriety of repudiating \$9,300,000 worth of railroad, levee, and other bonds.

A good deal of surprise, for which we hardly see the reason, has been expressed in the newspapers at the announcement by the Texas Grangers of their intention to ask the General Government for a subsidy for the Texas Pacific Road. It is exactly what we should have anticipated from their attempt to get hold of the inter-State lines last winter in Congress, from their demand that the Government shall build them a line of railway to the West, and from the impudence which has characterized their whole proceedings from the beginning. It is peculiarly characteristic of them, too, that their first demand for a subsidy of a particular line should be in the case of the Texas Pacific, for this road has already received a subsidy in the way of a land-grant to the amount of 6,750,000 acres—one of those land-grants which has been so vigorously denounced by these very reformers. What the Granger wants is cheap transportation; whether by confiscation of or lobbying with the roads is a matter of complete indifference to him. If we turn from Texas to Minnesota, we there find him, in his character of commissioner, looking into the question of "just and reasonable" rates in the case of the St. Paul and Sioux City roads. These roads are unable to earn enough to pay interest on their funded debt, but nevertheless reduced their rates voluntarily on the 1st of July in the hope of attracting traffic, which must in any case be light, as they run through the country devastated by the grasshoppers. The commissioners, on learning these facts, immediately decided that the rates were too high, and ordered a further reduction.

The late Bishop Whitehouse was probably spared a pang by his dying before the recent decision of the Cheney case in the United States Circuit Court at Chicago. The Bishop was a man of a high spirit, who, as we are led to suspect, had a way of magnifying his office, natural in him, and sufficiently to his honor and credit; but the habit of mind from which it sprang was not calculated to make Judge Williams's recent decision palatable to him. It is a decree based on an application for an injunction which was made last spring by the Whitehouse side. Mr. Cheney—who, by the way, is no longer a Churchman, having gone away and helped to found a new church—the Whitehouse party wished to restrain from keeping on with the use of the Christ Church property. Judge Williams refuses the application. We have not space for all his points; but he says that Mr. Cheney on his original trial consented to be tried by the canons; that according to these he should have been tried by five assessors; that the court so affirms because these trials by canons (which really are trials under stipulations made between the parties) closely resemble trials by arbitrators; that in trials by arbitrators the law requires every one of them to be present and assisting; that Mr. Cheney was tried, not by five arbitrators or as-

sessors, but by four; and that the proceedings of such a tribunal are null and void. At the second trial there was want of jurisdiction in the court. As, then, the sentence of the Bishop was based upon two void processes, it falls to the ground, and Mr. Cheney has all the time been rector of Christ Church. Leaving these special points, we may say in general that the court declares, in regard to the strictly societary regulations of religious societies, that for cause shown it will enforce them, as may seem legal and equitable. We have no intimation as to whether the case will be carried further.

We once more mention the Ross abduction case in order to say a word for the *Herald* correspondent. He is still working away at the other end of the telegraphic wire between here and Philadelphia and giving advice as if Solomon were a fool to him, and the latest falsehood about the Rosses which this has made it necessary for him to send on is as follows: On his theory, if Mr. Ross had at the beginning given to the public at large all the letters which he has received from the abductors, and of course had the correspondent got the early copies for the *Herald*—had Mr. Ross done this instead of keeping them secret and hidden, the missing boy would now have been found. This course the correspondent thinks so obvious that he evidently reserves in the depths of his mind a lurking suspicion that Mr. Ross is playing false. About this our friend makes an enormous uproar. An informant writes us from Philadelphia that so far at least as regards using concealment, there has been none except of a proper kind; that Mr. Ross has shown the letters received from the child-thieves to every one who had the right to see them, including friends and lawyers, thus disposing of the rumor which we noticed last week, giving it too much weight; and he adds the thought which the *Herald* man will not vastly care for, that "probably the sight of them has been refused to some meddling reporter who with his race infests the store and residence of the afflicted father." Indeed, this case and the Beecher case have really suggested new possibilities in the way of "interviewing." The Beecher case was, indeed, almost too big a blessing to be handled. For one thing, the subject was sensational to the last degree; and, for another, if you were to rake every port in the United States—and we are not afraid to add Europe—you could not have got together a company more eager to be interviewed than just this same set of people who have been filling the newspapers with their revelations and recollections. It is meat and drink to them. Keeping their names in the newspapers has been the making of half of the regiment of them, men and women, and certain quarters of New York and Brooklyn never in the world were happier than they have been for the last six or seven weeks.

The lockout of the farm laborers in the eastern counties of England has come to an end, the employers having found a sufficient supply of labor outside the Union. The Union has accordingly advised the men that they must look out for themselves or emigrate. The condition of the labor question in England has given rise to a good deal of discussion and correspondence about emigration, some of which has made its appearance in the columns of the London *Times*, under the head of "Emigration to a Free Country." The beginning of it was a letter to the *Times* from a gentleman signing himself "A Bohemian," who appears to have made a tour of the world in search of employment. He describes himself as young and strong, as "having received a good education," being "a thorough arithmetician," and "able to write and converse in most of the modern languages." Having resolved to try his fortunes in the United States, he succeeds after much trouble in finding a situation as a lawyer's clerk with a salary about equal to the average earnings of a Dorsetshire laborer. Finding, however, the professional tone in New York so disgustingly low that he cannot even perform the services of lawyer's clerk and maintain his honesty, and having perhaps casually come upon some person who advised him that the only thing for him to do was to "go West," he immediately leaves New York, and gets such employment as he can

in the country at rail-splitting and wheeling bricks; and, being treated with uniform hard-heartedness and brutality by everybody, he goes back to England. He next tries Canada, with as little success; and then New Zealand, where he finds very little sympathy, even when in "trouble or distress." All this seems to point not merely to a bad state of things in a "free country," but even to a bad state of society in the enslaved European colonies.

The "Bohemian," therefore, has probably not been very much surprised to find his letter replied to, first by a gentleman (Mr. Edward T. Bridges) who says that New Zealand is a country of which he knows something, and this knowledge leads him to suspect that the "Bohemian" has not been to New Zealand at all—New Zealand being a country where 5s. a day is paid for the lowest class of unskilled labor, and from 12s. to 15s. for skilled labor; and where it is not only possible, but "certain, and will be for years to come, that an industrious and steady man, who sticks to his trade or work, will be able in the course of but a few years to save enough out of his wages to buy a small section of land, erect a house thereon, and thus, with the additional help of his wages, attain a comfortable independence"; and thinks that the "Bohemian's" reference to the want of sympathy he found when in "trouble or distress" may be a veiled allusion to the melancholy absence of workhouses in New Zealand. Besides this, an "Anglo-American" writes to the *Times* to say that whatever may be the truth about New Zealand, the "Bohemian's" adventures in the United States must not be taken to be typical; that he himself had been an emigrant in his day, and found everything here exactly the reverse of what was discovered by the "Bohemian"; that he landed in New York with fifty dollars in his pocket in the middle of winter; went that night to an hotel, and engaged board at fourteen dollars a week without difficulty; went the next day and got a situation without having any references, in an office on Broadway; and on the next day found himself in a position of trust and confidence, sent on a mission to deposit \$1,350 in a bank for one of his employers. By cultivating "the true American principle," he describes himself as having thriven, and as mixing always in "superior society."

The news as to the condition of the harvests all over the world is very good. There is every reason to anticipate a year of cheap food, and, as the general revival of business depends in the long run on cheap food, it is not unreasonable to believe that we have seen the worst of the dull times, which certainly could not well be duller than they have been during the past few months. A comparison of prices in 1873 and 1874, made by the *Economist*, shows a considerable fall in leading commodities since last year, and, prices being now favorable to consumers, we may fairly infer that the improved tone in the iron trade, which is attracting attention in England, is prophetic of improvement in other branches of business, here as well as there.

The railroad question in England has been lately discussed from a different point of view from that which has been occupying public attention in this country—that of the excessive number of passengers maimed and killed by the roads. A "society for the protection of railway travellers" has now been formed, under the leadership of several influential men, the terms of subscription being very low in order to make the membership large. The object of this society is stated to be the diminution of risks arising out of causes within the control of the roads, such as unpunctuality, insufficiency of "permanent-way," inadequacy of establishments, and the neglect to adopt the various means of safety constantly recommended by the Board of Trade, the correction of defects and discomforts in travelling accommodation, the introduction of more humane arrangements for the conveyance of cattle, and other similar objects. Of course a great deal depends on what amount of vigor is put into the work; but these are certainly the kinds of things on which supervision, if vigilant, would be likely to have

some effect. You cannot tell how much it is fair for a company to charge for transporting a passenger a particular hundred miles, but you can tell whether he gets to the end of his journey, whether maimed or dead, or alive and well, whether the train in which he travels runs "on time" or without any regard to the prescribed time, and whether cattle are tortured into disease and unfitness for human food by a more than brutish disregard of the creatures' wants. Such a society, in taking up the cases of the poor and unfriended, might do much good in any country.

Most of the chief European Governments have recognized the Spanish Republic, the lead in the affair being taken of course by Germany. The ostensible reason is the unhappy condition of the country and the Carlist atrocities. How far intervention will be carried remains to be seen, but no doubt far enough to prevent any possibility of the Ultramontane party in Spain deriving any material aid from their friends in France. The recent attempt on his life at Kissingen has had the effect of greatly strengthening the hands of Bismarck in his war on the Church, and it would not be a very far-fetched hypothesis to explain the recognition of the Republic in part by the renewed resolution of the Germans to keep their war upon the Pope an unhesitating one. The Carlist atrocities are, of course, denied by the Carlists, who in turn declare the Republican troops a set of savages. We fear very much that there is little reason to rejoice in this new addition to the area of freedom. A Spanish Republic protected by the great military powers against an intestine revolution, with foreign fleets policing her waters, is too shadowy a political structure to pin our faith to. It is greatly to be hoped that the recognizing powers may put an end to the barbarous warfare which is distracting and completing the ruin of Spain. The interests of humanity and civilization demand that the country should not be entirely free to give itself up to rapine and murder; and if a protectorate is needed to accomplish this object, the sooner one is established the better.

Two French prisoners, half-political and half-criminal, who have acquired a world-wide notoriety, are now at large again—Rochefort and Bazaine. The secret of the latter's escape from the Isle Ste. Marguerite is only partly explained, and evidently there are those on the other side of the water who are willing to keep it an entire mystery. Eight persons are said to have been arrested on suspicion of having aided his escape, the charge of treachery playing in this the important part that it usually does in the explanation of French events. A spirited attempt has been made, or is in process of being made, to throw an air of romantic adventure over the escape of the Marshal, as there was in Rochefort's case to convert the escaped convict into an old-fashioned refugee—a martyr to the tyranny of princes and emperors. Thus, in Bazaine's case we learn that the prisoner languished (if we are to believe the *London Telegraph*, which we certainly do not mean to do unless under compulsion) in the very cell "in which the Man with the Iron Mask languished so many years, and from the window of which the unknown prisoner flung into the sea the silver plate on which he had previously scratched his name and history"—this cell, however, being unlike most cells, as it is a "lofty apartment," and contains "a fire-place and large window." This we suppose is the same room elsewhere in the account described as a "small sitting-room," "plainly furnished," with a fine likeness of the Pope on the wall, with a Latin autograph. No such luxuries as these, we fear, were furnished the Man with the Iron Mask, nor was he permitted to have a valet, nor the companionship of an old staff-officer, nor to receive frequent visits from those nearest to him. This is probably the reason, too, why he did not walk out of prison one fine night and take boat for Italy. The fact is that the Marshal was not in prison long enough, nor was his character as a victim well enough established, to make him a very romantic object, and the learned discussion now going on in some of the newspapers as to whether or no he is an extraditable convict will not tend to make him more so.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FALL ELECTIONS.

IN the history of Congress the present bears many indications of becoming an extraordinary year. The last Congressional election sent to the House an unusual preponderance of new members; but the old members thus supplanted were for the most part of the unknown class. So much so was this the case, that the change in the material of the House was somewhat of a surprise to the public, being discovered by means of newspaper statistics rather than by the absence of familiar names. The front ranks of both parties showed very little change, and continued to be filled chiefly with well-known men. By the coming elections this condition of the House will probably be reversed. The number of new members may not equal that of last year, but a very noticeable disappearance will take place of names with which the people of this country are now well acquainted. The new members in the present House have been for the most part a mere following. With little legislative experience to guide them, with little intellectual training to fit them for doing what they have never been specially taught to do, they have been largely overawed by their own practical ignorance, and not a little intimidated by the manual dexterity of the "experienced leaders." Leaving home in the belief that their newly acquired office was one of great power and consequence, they have found that in Washington it of itself makes a man no more distinguished than that of constable in their native town. Supposing at first that national legislation is a plain highway along which men might walk and talk in a common-sense manner, and be allowed to vote upon measures when they have maturely considered them, just as at any public meeting of intelligent men, they have been dazed by finding that Congressional practice has been worked up into a thoroughly artificial maze, whose labyrinths require two or three sessions of practice before the new member can master the doublings and windings, or be on his guard against or ready to take advantage of its many indefinable "short cuts."

The larger part of the Republican "new members" seem to have passed through three stages of desire: 1st, they wanted to do right; 2d, they wanted to do something; 3d, they wanted to do anything. It was perfectly natural that such men thus circumstanced should pass through these phases of intention. It was almost inevitable that they should take to introducing bills on the solitary occasion when anybody is allowed to get the floor, if only to let their constituents know that they were still alive and actually in Washington. Later, as they became accustomed to the bedlamlike confusion of the House, it was to be expected that they would make speeches to the reporters on the popular side of the "salary grab" or other prominent topics. But when these preliminary efforts at individuality had been tried, it was just as natural and inevitable that a hundred and more of untrained and practically ignorant and incompetent men should sink into a following. If there had been one truly powerful statesman on the floor of the House—one person in the party, there, who was really revered as a great man, or if there had been a few able and experienced members thoroughly united in knowing what their party's policy was and in holding the mass of members up to some predetermined work of legislation, it is probable, it is reasonably certain, that the mass of new members would have made an efficient and respectable party majority in Congress.

Such being the material of the rank-and-file, it is necessary merely to glance at their leaders to account for their conduct. The chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means is the member who is supposed to be the leader of his party in the House. In this case he is also the senior member of the House and possessed of an experience largely in excess of that of any other Republican upon the floor. But Mr. Dawes came into this Congress with a reputation impaired by his connection with the Crédit-Mobilier transactions, and well-nigh shattered by the disingenuous letter whereby he sought to mislead and deceive all who trusted his assurances on that subject. He also soon appeared to have entered into a tacit compact with the worst man in the House, or at least to be in such fear of him as not to venture, when he could possibly avoid a collision, to oppose

his schemes or thwart his designs. Apart from these hindrances, he was at best fitted to be, not the leader, but at most the censor or balance-wheel of the House. Hence the new members found in him, not the person who was directing and urging, but the person who was perpetually holding back. Repeated and constantly recurring injunctions and warnings and threats against extravagance soon had about as much effect on them as the stereotyped advice of a schoolmaster ordinarily exercises on the minds of a throng of ardent, restless boys. If Congress were a board of audit, whose sole business is to cut down estimates and adjust accounts, Mr. Dawes would have been in his place. But in a legislative body like the House of Representatives, he bore about the same relation to a leader that the drag of a coach does to the driver. The chairman of the second committee in importance, that on Appropriations, on the contrary, possessed many of the characteristics of a leader, and, moreover, had subjected himself to a more comprehensive and thorough mental training for legislative work than any other man in the House; but unfortunately for himself, and indeed for the country, he was in a position which might be termed "the personal defensive." He had been censured by the Crédit-Mobilier Committee, though the censure rested on slighter evidence than that of any other person inculcated—the mere word of Oakes Ames, unsupported by any of his usual memoranda—and he had been blamed for his unwilling part in the "salary-grab" enactment, and the Sanborn-contract resolution soon after required explanation. With three such defences on his hands, no man could suddenly become a leader in Congress, or expect to control and mould the opinions of the public, upon which every legislative leader must sooner or later rely. The chairman of the third committee, the Judiciary, it is needless to say, was General Butler. Very ready was he for the situation, and very well did the situation suit him. Readiness and audacity are tolerably sure to sway a crowd wanting to do something yet doubting what to do; and readiness and audacity are the two qualities which General Butler possesses in such excess that one may well doubt whether he possesses any other worth naming. Very quickly he made himself the leader of the majority in the House; and to what point of folly he might not have led them no man can surmise, if providentially the Sanborn disclosure had not come to arouse the country so thoroughly that even General Butler had to stop, like men who value their characters, and stand upon the defensive.

Such being the peculiar weakness of the present House, there is certainly ground for anxiety when we look forward to the fact that in all probability this weakness is to be greatly extended in the next Congress. Mr. Dawes having reached the highest position in the House, and then found that his reputation and influence were rapidly leaving him, has sagaciously determined that "retirement from office" and active work in home-politics are more likely to prove his stepping-stone than any public service which he can render. General Butler seems to have taken the same view of the duty he owes to his country. But neither his friends nor his enemies seem confident of his withdrawal, and the only thing certain is that there is no other place in the world where he can perpetrate so much mischief as in the House of Representatives. When it becomes absolutely certain that he will not be there to deride able men and bully and mislead weak ones, the decent part of the community may well thank God and take courage. But even if this restless element of positive evil be withdrawn from the next Congress, there will still be a long list of retiring members which includes the very best of the House. It seems, indeed, as if an epidemic for retirement had broken out in both parties, and that the greater portion of the men who really perceive the wants of the country had suddenly grown conscious of their inability to raise Congress to the dignity of a working body, and in weariness and disgust had simultaneously given up the task. Generally, the losses are by voluntary retirement, but political conventions have not kept their mischievous hands off in all cases. If the integrity, moral courage, and good sense of Mr. Willard of Vermont reigned in Congress, everybody knows that that body would possess the

almost unlimited confidence of the country. But Mr. Willard has just been defeated in convention, and another new member is to take his place.

Yet the ground of solicitude does not stop even at this point. Not only does there seem to be an epidemic of retirement on the part of members, but also another epidemic of refusal on the part of prominent and respectable private citizens who may be solicited to go into Congress. As the *Springfield Republican* says: "It is positively becoming dangerous for a Massachusetts newspaper to mention the name of any conspicuously able and deserving citizen (Republican in politics) in discussing the political probabilities. The odds are that the gentleman named will at once sit down and write a curt note to the editor, signifying his inflexible resolution not to be a candidate." What does all this mean? Is the recent saying of Lord Lytton coming true, that the American is trying "to accomplish an experiment in government in which he will find the very prosperity he tends to create will sooner or later destroy his experiment"? Has the "conspicuously able and deserving citizen" perceived that our national legislature is properly a place for hard and unpretentious work—for study, training, caution, and reflection; but that it has become a place for ridicule, detraction, ignorant assumption, and mercenary combinations—a place which can only be ruled by an extremist like the late Mr. Stevens or a demagogue like General Butler? Very rarely, if ever, has there been a time when the public welfare so completely required intelligent honesty in Congress, and never has there been a time when the intelligent and honest seem so averse to going there. Raising the pay seems to have done a great deal toward bringing Congress down in individual estimation, and we have now to reverse proceedings by trying to restore to the position some of its former honor. When the educated, intelligent, and respectable citizen feels assured that in Congress he will be able to mingle and co-operate with educated, intelligent, and respectable associates, he will again deem the legislative service a distinction and a pleasure.

THE RATIONALE OF EMIGRATION.

WE have elsewhere made a reference to the curious correspondence on the subject of "Emigration to a Free Country" which has lately been going on in the columns of the *London Times*. The most ardent lover of the most minute facts cannot candidly say that it sheds much light on the relative merits of the different countries mentioned for those who are seeking a home. "The Bohemian's" whole story may be and very likely is false, and yet America may be a bad place at certain times for some kinds of emigrants; the New Zealander's representations may be perfectly true, and yet New Zealand may be very unattractive from some points of view. The "Anglo-American's" experience, pleasant as it is, is unlikely to be repeated. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, deprecating the efforts of those "who exultingly heap up evidence that the prospects of a laborer in Canada or Australia or the United States are no brighter than they are in England," says "single experiences go for little either way"; and at the same time is inclined to think that "more attention is to be paid to such letters" as one which has lately appeared in an Irish newspaper (evidently written during the depth of the depression consequent on the panic), by a Mr. Walsh, one of the Jesuit fathers in New York, who says that in every large city in the Union thousands of able-bodied men are standing idle and starving; that no roads or canals are being made; that the farmers "raise only as much as suffices for domestic consumption" and employ no hands; that even female servants are looking in vain for places; and, finally, that this is only the beginning, and that the United States are "likely to undergo a phase of misery the like of which no tongue can tell." This is the picture of a country going to pieces, and few people will recognize its truth. The *Pall Mall Gazette* admits, indeed, that it is very likely overdrawn, but thinks that it is entitled to credit as coming from a tolerably unbiassed source, and from one having probably a wide means of information. But until we know more of Father Walsh, we shall be inclined to believe that his

letter is nothing more than such a one as any excitable man might have written in an exciting time—let us say, immediately after the panic of 1837, and that as a prediction of the industrial future of the country it is worth as little as such a letter would have been then. Most people in reading it will be inclined to begin with the reflection which the *Pall Mall Gazette* made apropos of the other letters, that what is needed now is a cessation of irresponsible correspondence and communications on this subject, and the accumulation of detailed and precise facts with regard to the labor markets of various countries.

The emigration question, however, is not one which, in the present state of the labor market and trade, can be definitely and for all time settled; indeed, it is one which, with every new steamboat line between here and Europe, and every new railroad line between here and the West, will become more difficult of final settlement. In modern economy, there is nothing more noticeable than the rapid creation and depression of trade in particular spots, and the ease and rapidity with which a trade which finds itself depressed in one place reappears in another shortly afterwards in a prosperous condition and with the necessary attendant labor. Sometimes it is a war which is the cause of the phenomenon, as when the shipbuilding industry was driven out of this country during the Rebellion; sometimes it is a tariff; in another case, it might be the condition of the currency which caused a change. New England has changed within the last generation from an agricultural to a manufacturing country; already since the war manufactures are springing up in the South; shipbuilding is reviving in Maine. Every one of these changes as it occurs has an influence of some kind, now depressing, now elevating, on the labor market, and the effect has been not to render the emigration question simpler, but much harder than it was before. So long as a trade once established was likely to remain in a country or city a hundred years, the emigrant could very easily make long calculations. But now, if he emigrates on account of a depression in the particular trade which he follows, ten years hence, perhaps, that very trade may be flourishing in the very place he left it depressed.

On the other hand, it is far more important for all but the most unskilled labor to remain steadily at the same occupation. Formerly, in this country, the theory and the practice both were that the European who came over here came ready to turn his hand to anything—saw wood, dig, be carpenter, blacksmith, mason, lawyer, or member of Congress, as opportunity might occur. But the increasingly minute subdivisions of employment are making it every year more and more dangerous for emigrants to attempt this old-fashioned rôle. Therefore, the question is not so much, Is there not plenty of land in the United States, and a welcome for all? as it is, Can a particular individual find in the United States the particular work for which he is trained? And where, and when? It is obvious that even those agricultural laborers who have been looking into the question for themselves, through Mr. Arch, want to find the same kind of work they have been doing in England. Even they are by no means jacks of all trades.

Again, the rise to power and influence of the unions makes the question more difficult. The trades-union is, as every one knows, a voluntary organization of a democratic character, which has a general jurisdiction over the particular labor-market related to a particular trade. It has a general fund, levies assessments, supports men during strikes, and exercises a general supervision over them. In the last resort, as in the case in hand, it advises and very likely furnishes the means of emigration. The result of all this is that the laborer learns more and more to rely on this organization, to be idle when it is idle, and to work when it works. Indeed, he subjects himself to great inconvenience, if not suffering, by remaining outside the union. Therefore, it is obvious that the question of emigration will now be considered with reference not so much to the happiness of the individual laborer as to the prosperity of the union to which he belongs; and in many cases when, if left to himself, he might very likely choose to emigrate, as he is not left to himself, he does not choose at all. In the agricultural laborers'

strikes, the men seem in process of being driven out of the country against their will, though by accepting their employers' terms last year they might have stayed, because their enforced idleness has exhausted the funds of the union.

We do not by any means intend to say that the emigration question is not one which deserves study. It needs more than it has ever received. What we desire to point out is that the discussions usually carried on on this subject are illogical and futile, because based on insufficient or inapplicable evidence; that the question will not be settled by a comparison of certificates of national character given or refused by individual emigrants; nor will it be settled once for all at any time. The sudden changes in trade and commercial centres, the growing facility of locomotion, the growth and importance of the unions, all make the question much more complicated than formerly. We shall have no solution of the vague question, "Is America, or New Zealand, or Canada a good country for the emigrant?" But what the laborer might fairly expect, and what he ought to have, is information of a detailed and precise kind as to the condition of the market in particular trades and at particular times and places. Last winter, when Father Walsh was taking so gloomy a view of the future of the country, and when no sane man would have advised the emigration of a laborer in any trade to this city, negotiations were going on, and very seasonably so far as one party at least was concerned, between our Government and the Russian sect known as the Mennonites—a simple agricultural people who merely needed a quantity of unoccupied land—for the cession of a large tract in the West. The laborer who did not emigrate to New York, and the Mennonites who are now on their way, both understood the logic of emigration thoroughly. A great deal of stress is now laid by the newspapers on the fact that there is an apparent tide of re-emigration to Europe from the United States, and this is supposed to point to a cessation of emigration from the other side. But apart from the difficulty of obtaining any reliable statistics, it should be taken into consideration that the rush to this country must be expected to fall off after a commercial panic. At the same time that we hear of this re-emigration, we hear of the emigration from England of two large bodies of men, one from the agricultural, the other from the mining districts.

THE GREAT SCANDAL.

MR. BEECHER'S explanation of the letters from which Tilton published extracts six weeks ago only appeared on Friday last. It ought to have appeared at the earliest immediately after Tilton's letter to Dr. Bacon; at the latest, immediately after Tilton's charges before the committee. Every day of the subsequent delay lent some force to Tilton's accusations by sapping the public faith in Mr. Beecher. This delay was, in fact, the crowning blunder of a series of blunders, the like of which we have never seen or heard of. It would only have been justifiable if the committee which was trying the case had been a body in whose discretion the public had confidence, whose judgment it was eager to hear and likely to respect. But the committee was made up in a way which from the outset deprived it of all weight. It was composed of Mr. Beecher's personal friends and adherents, selected by himself; and we think we are correct in saying that not a man of them had any experience whatever in the conduct of judicial enquiries, or any training likely to take the place of experience, or any such reputation before the world as would lead outsiders to rely on his opinion. Mr. Beecher's waiting, therefore, until such a tribunal had "got all the evidence" before he, the principal actor in the transaction, made his statement, wore to some people the appearance of child's play; to most people we fear it wore the appearance of something worse. In truth, it added one more fact to the case against him, and a fact, too, which has seriously increased the difficulties of his defence. His audience last week was by no means as indulgent as it would have been a month earlier, and the explanation which he has finally produced is not the kind of explanation which people are disposed to excuse a man for not producing hastily. It is neither a cold, careful narrative of facts, nor a technical or closely-knit argument. It is an impassioned, pathetic, somewhat effusive, and highly-wrought history of four miserable years, full of confessions of weakness and folly, of appeals *ad misericordiam*, and of descriptions of states of feeling—of the kind, in short, which is most effective when it is fresh, and over the composition of which

the world does not permit a man to linger. If it is to carry conviction successfully, it must come hot from the heart at the first moment, and not after the witnesses have all been heard and the plaintiff has put in all his documents.

It must be observed, too, and we fear most people have observed, that there is not in Mr. Beecher's long paper a single good reason to be found for his not having answered the first day. None of the evidence taken has been such as to alter his line of defence since Tilton last spoke. Moreover, considering the depth of feeling with which he has deplored the effect on public morals of the prolongation of this wretched enquiry, we do not well know how the employment of a committee which could only sit two or three hours every evening is to be excused. If there ever was a case in which the court should have sat night and day until the work was done, it was this one. As matters have gone, the committee have had the air of men who enjoyed the dirty business in which they were engaged so much that they tried to keep it hanging on as long as possible, apparently unconscious that they had opened and were sitting over a cesspool the fumes of which were poisoning the whole country.

We mention all these things to show that we are fully conscious of all the weaknesses of Mr. Beecher's position. We have refrained thus far from expressing any opinion on the merits of the case, and have confined ourselves, in such references as we have made to it, to warning him against possible mistakes in his mode of meeting his accusers. We will add that the impression we received from the "apology" contained in the Tilton letter to Dr. Bacon was, that Mr. Beecher had possibly fallen into some indiscretion in his relations with Mrs. Tilton, which, in his morbid religious sentimentality, he had fearfully magnified and described to himself in unmeasured terms. The phrase, "he would have been a better man in my circumstances than I have been," was hardly explicable on any other hypothesis. But we felt, as every one felt, on the publication of his letters by Tilton, that in them lay the gravamen of the whole charge; that the explanation of them would no doubt be an exceedingly difficult task, but that it ought, if it was attempted at all, to be attempted at once; and that there was positive blindness in supposing that it could be safely laid over for even a day. We have accordingly read over Mr. Beecher's defence, not only without prejudice in his favor, but with a good deal of not unwarrantable disposition to judge him severely; and we are bound to say that we think he does furnish an explanation of his conduct which people outside Plymouth Church can comprehend, and that it does wholly relieve him of the graver imputations so persistently thrown on him.

The true story of the affair, when disentangled from the curious web of rhetoric in which he has enveloped it—and of which his comparing Mrs. Tilton on her bed, when he went to her to get her to sign her retraction, "to some forms carved in marble that he had seen upon monuments in Europe," is a striking and suggestive illustration—we take to be substantially this: Tilton's ill-treatment of his wife, combined with her own religiosity and Mr. Beecher's strong sympathy, led her gradually to contract an affection for the latter, which after a while presented itself to her own conscience as unlawful; and as she was frequently quarrelling with Tilton and then making up, she used a confession of this over-fondness for Mr. Beecher as the means of cementing one of her numerous reconciliations with her worthy husband, and at the same time of giving a little spice to the pietistic gush with which she appears to have been in the habit of deluging him, and of which he was doubtless, as he was a wayward gentleman, getting a little tired. This confession appears to have found Tilton in a bad way. He was losing his professional position, losing his credit with his friends, and his not very strong head was completely bemuddled by the multitude of new and strange doctrines which had risen on his path after his anti-slavery occupation was gone. In these great straits, being desperate and apparently shameless, the idea of turning his wife's relations with Beecher to worldly account seems to have taken possession of him, and for four years he treated it as a vein to be worked the more assiduously the more his fortunes were failing. To enable him to do this effectively, a go-between was of course necessary, and this was found in the person of Mr. Francis Moulton, an old classmate of Tilton's, of about the same amount of mental and moral culture, but a shrewd, smart business man of the Butler school—fond of intrigue—loving, like Butler, to do plain things in crooked, underhand ways—mixed up more or less in doubtful transactions, not at all scrupulous, making no pretence to be a Christian, and no more of a gentleman than the great Ben himself—a sort of person, in short, whom men of honor and refinement of feeling avoid and fear. Finding Tilton in trouble, and being fond of him, this person appears to have undertaken to extricate him by the means which had suggested itself to Tilton's own mind—viz., by exploiting, or, to use the slang of Butlerite circles, "striking" Beecher. In Beecher, it must be confessed, they found an easy prey. His story of Moulton's operations on him bears the unmistak-

able impress of truth, and it has never been our lot to read anything more pitiful. The two confederates appear to have kept the unfortunate man on the rack for four long years, harrowed by the most horrible terrors and anxieties, Tilton standing in the background as an injured and threatening husband, and Moulton running to and fro as a "mediator" and pacificator, extracting confessions and letters of contrition from Beecher by the handful, making him believe that his communications were all strictly "confidential," and then showing them or repeating their contents or giving copies to half the town, pretending to him that this or that cause of fear had passed away or was "buried in oblivion," and then setting it afloat among the friends and confederates of the pair as a rumor, in such shape and with such an air of authenticity as to plunge Beecher into fresh alarm and bring him once more to his knees.

Tilton and his friend finally connected themselves with Woodhull, Moulton inviting this woman to his house as a guest; and then they compelled or seduced their unhappy victim into meeting her, and there he was at first flattered and then actually threatened by her. They crowned his humiliation by trying to get him to preside at the meeting in Steinway Hall at which she proclaimed the gospel of lechery. In this they failed, and Tilton took Beecher's place. Tilton got his wife to sign a paper accusing Beecher of having made improper proposals to her, having apparently not at first made up his mind that it would be necessary to accuse her of actual adultery; and this he showed or talked of. In fact, throughout the whole transaction he appears to have been in constant danger of spoiling his own game through the pride and satisfaction he took in the élat of having his wife's chastity assailed by so distinguished a man as Beecher. He was so eager in proclaiming this that he was frequently on the point of driving his victim to the wall, and causing a complete exposure before he had got all he needed out of him. Moulton appears to have backed him up with extraordinary skill and daring. When Beecher, almost driven crazy by the news that Mrs. Tilton had accused him in writing, made his way into her room and obtained her written withdrawal of the charge, Moulton actually pursued him to his own bedroom, and then and there extorted the paper from him, "opening his overcoat, and, with some emphatic remarks, showing a pistol, which afterwards he took out and laid on the bureau near where he stood." We suppose no decent man has read Mr. Beecher's statement without feeling his pulse quicken when he learnt that Mr. Beecher, instead of sending out for a policeman, or taking his friend by the throat and kicking him down-stairs, pistol and all, "gave the paper to him." After this incident, Beecher appears to have been on as friendly terms with Moulton as ever, and beslavers him in all his letters with expressions of affection and admiration. To sum up, they got all the "papers" they wanted from him and \$7,000 in money, and then, by way of tightening the screw, raised the charge from improper solicitation to actual adultery, and at last, finding the orange was squeezed dry, they produced their budget of filth to the public. Moulton, then, though released from all obligation of secrecy by both parties, declined to testify on grounds of honorable delicacy, but at the same time told most of what he said he knew—and this most damaging to Beecher—to the reporter of the *Chicago Tribune*, for publication in that paper, Tilton at the same time furnishing his wife's letters to the same journal, to show how happy his married life used to be before it was ruined by his pastor. A more revolting tale, as far as these two are concerned, is not to be found in the literature of crime.

The main question of interest for the public, however, is of course the possibility of accounting for Beecher's mental agony, as described by himself in his letters, by the circumstances of the case as he recounts them. We do not think this would have been possible if the letters had stood as Tilton produced them and there had been no others in existence; but the additions Mr. Beecher makes show clearly enough that the offence he had in his mind was much less grave than the one with which he was charged, and that he never got over the demoralization caused by learning that Mrs. Tilton, the "beloved Christian woman," as he described her, had not only confessed that she had given him too much affection, but that he had sought to seduce her. This clearly unmanned him, and we think had a great deal more to do with his subsequent misery than he admits. He is now evidently anxious to make it appear, and doubtless honestly believes, that what preyed most on him was his having helped to ruin Tilton by denouncing him to Bowen, his employer. But, odd and weak as he appears in the transaction, the fear of this last fact becoming known can hardly have reduced him to despair.

To make his conduct appear rational is no part of our present business. Nor need we add one word to the condemnation which he himself passes on it in his statement to the committee. He speaks of himself, as far as regards his dealings with Tilton and Moulton, as severely as any one else could desire to speak. But then he evidently fails to see,

what most other thinking people see, that the calamity which has overtaken him, and bids fair to cloud his declining years, is the not unnatural result of his philosophy of life. He acknowledges that he acted in some sort as a father to Tilton after this man had left college, and he was mainly instrumental in pushing him into prominence. But in doing this he showed the same lamentable lack of judgment and discrimination which has in a higher degree marked his course in his late troubles, and has surrounded him with the noisome and unclean crowd of busybodies who have figured in the "Scandal." He found Tilton a smart young reporter, with little or no outfit in the way of knowledge or training of any kind, with a lively fancy, and the seeds of an inordinate vanity. He at once took him under his patronage, pushed him into a position on the *Independent* which, small as were its demands, was probably above his resources, made him at the age of twenty-six his confidential friend and companion, and then went off to Europe leaving him in what he calls "one of the proudest editorial chairs in the world." If Tilton's brain in this position was soon addled by vanity and ambition, and if when the abolition of slavery left him without a subject for his rhetoric he went crazy after novelties, we think Mr. Beecher more than any other man was to blame; for we greatly doubt if, when Tilton was humble and obscure and docile, he was ever honestly told by his Mentor that knowledge, study, and hard work are more necessary to fill editorial chairs than gaudy sentimentality. We will add that it was not until Mr. Beecher had rushed down to the Astor House with the impetuosity of a youth of twenty, and married a couple who did not belong to his church and had no legitimate claim on him, one of whom was dying from a wound inflicted by a jealous husband, and the other of whom was if lawfully, not truly divorced, that Tilton began the publication of those strange articles on marriage in the *Independent* which foreshadowed his present ruin. They appeared immediately after the Richardson tragedy, and in fact they grew out of it, and with characteristic fatuity the author allied himself on this occasion with John Milton. He was by this time separating himself from Mr. Beecher, and, in fact, had come to look on himself as the greater man of the two; but it was soon painfully evident that he had not enough substance in him to stand alone. Yet Mr. Beecher, who knew him as nobody else knew him, seems never to have found him out. Nay, at a still earlier period, in 1863, when Mr. Beecher was in England, one of the foremost men in America, with a fame that filled both worlds, he had, it appeared, nobody to whom to pour forth his inmost soul on this side of the water but this flighty and half-taught boy. His letter to Tilton on that occasion has been published; so has a later one of Tilton's to him. They read like epistles of Hattie to Minnie, and Minnie to Hattie, from two distant boarding-schools, and they make one wonder that Mr. Beecher should have so long filled the position he occupies without falling into some such scrape as the present, and prepare one for his friendship with Moulton, and with certain of his adherents in Brooklyn whose manœuvres in his behalf have so disgusted the public during the past year.

We will not say all that might be said of the tendency which this affair has clearly revealed in Mr. Beecher to prefer the society of his inferiors to that of his equals, for it is a fault into which all clergymen are more or less liable to fall. A very successful minister becomes inevitably an object of homage to a large body of women and of uneducated men; and it is a homage so sweet even to the strongest heads that nothing but great vigor of character prevents a man from gradually avoiding all circles in which he is not likely to receive it, and in which his sayings are likely to meet with irreverent handling. And yet no position is more full of moral and intellectual danger than that of "king of one's company." Nothing is more necessary for moral and mental health and discipline than the society of one's equals; and anybody who finds that he shrinks from it may be sure that he carries within him the seeds of decline, and he may be thankful if some fine day he do not find that he has, like Mr. Beecher, passed into the hands of a crowd of religious charpers, ready to trade on his fame and get distraction out of his agony.

This tendency has been aggravated in Mr. Beecher's case by peculiar views of social obligation, to which we have had occasion to make some reference once or twice before. He has long held a theory, and has, we believe, honestly tried to live up to it, that it is man's duty, as he expresses it, "to look at the world as God looks at it," or, in other words, to govern himself, in his dealings with his fellows, by inferences of his own as to the manner in which God would act under similar circumstances. As his God is wholly love, and is no respecter of persons, attempts to imitate Him result simply in the deliberate and systematic suppression of all discrimination touching character and conduct, and the cultivation of a purely emotional theology, made up, not of opinions, but of sighs and tears and aspirations and unlimited good-nature. As God loves and forgives the sinner, why should not we? In his sight there is after all little or no difference between

Bishop Potter and Bill Tweed, why should we, His creatures, try to make any? As Christ associated freely with publicans and sinners, why should we attempt to indicate the existence of moral superiority on the part of one man over another? Moreover, since our religious life consists largely of expression—that is, the communication by one to another of what he or she feels about death and judgment—and in fact the church exists for the promotion of this expression, ought we not to take each person's account of his moral condition, and not look too nicely into the conduct of his life? We do not think we exaggerate when we say that Mr. Beecher has tried this system fully and faithfully in Brooklyn, and we do not fear to add that the events of the last three months were not necessary to satisfy people of its failure. It makes a state of society in which the self-respect of the honest, the manly, and pure-minded is lowered or destroyed, and in which that of the foul, the unscrupulous, the shallow and tricky, is raised and strengthened; and in which the good and bad and indifferent, by "pooling" their character, as the railroad men say, produce a mass of corruption, indecency, and vulgarity which has to be periodically washed away by some such tempest as we are now witnessing.

FRANCE.—A REPUBLIC WITHOUT REPUBLICANS.

LAUSANNE, July 27, 1874.

THE last parliamentary battle of any importance has just been fought, and I have escaped from Versailles while the smoke was still in the air to get a little necessary rest. The result was not unexpected to me. The proposition of Casimir-Périer was the occasion for a new struggle between the Republicans and the Monarchists, but since the downfall of M. Thiers it is quite clear that the Republican cause has not been in the ascendant. The Casimir-Périer proposition reminds me of the verses of Barbier in his now almost forgotten 'Iambes':

"Non, non, la Liberté n'est pas une comtesse
Du noble faubourg Saint-Germain,
Une femme qu'un cri fait tomber en faiblesse,
Qui met du blanc et du carmin!
C'est une forte femme aux puissantes mamelles,
A la voix rauque, aux durs appas,
Qui, du brun sur la peau, du feu dans les prunelles,
Agile et marchant à grands pas,
Se plaint au bruit des camps, aux sanglantes mêlées,
Aux longs roulements des tambours,
Et qui prend son plaisir aux funèbres volées
Des cloches et des canons sourds."

This is and will long remain the ideal republic in France—the Republic of Danton, of Marceau, of the soldiers of the army of Sambre-et-Meuse. Gambetta tried to galvanize it; he played Danton, but victory did not answer his call; he smote the ground for armies, but armies did not spring up under his feet, and his ill-equipped, disorganized levies crossed the Loire instead of the Rhine. Some of the Communist leaders—Rossel, for instance—dreamed also of a sanguinary, despairing, bloody republic; but the Commune could only inflict wounds on France, and the Germans witnessed from Saint Denis the conflagration of the monument which their own hands would have spared.

The republican ardor has always been in France a fever, a sort of disease; it was so in 1793, then again in 1848, and now we see the same phenomenon, and the malady goes through the same stages. We have our Girondins; there are always some men who believe that this virago, so graphically described in the verses of Barbier, can be changed into an honest matron, a good mother of a family; men who believe that the absence of a king is enough to constitute a republic, theorists who work at constitutions as did the Abbé Sieyès, who made, if I am not mistaken, ten perfect constitutions in his lifetime, and found that he had constituted nothing but an absolute emperor. Casimir-Périer is the type of our modern Girondin; he is never tired of saying that he always was a monarchist till the monarchy seemed to him to have become impossible. In his proposition he says in the first article that the government of the Republic shall be composed of a president and two chambers, and in article three he inserts a right to revise the whole constitution. He would like to continue the *essai loyal* of the Republic, and, if the trial did not succeed, to change the Republic by law into a constitutional monarchy. His Republic is like a watch with a key to it. It has never occurred to his mind that such changes are not legally possible. How would our so-called Conservative Republicans know that their Republic had failed? They would probably only pronounce it a failure on the day when they were excluded from power, and in that case the key of the revision clause would no longer be in their hands. To say beforehand, "We will make a government, we will call it republican; but if Gambetta and his friends get a majority in the elections, we will call for a king," is a sort of reasoning which seems to me almost childish. Gambetta is more consistent; he was a republican under the Empire, in the face of Napoleon III.; he stigmatized the Second of December and its partisans; he would have remained a republican if the Comte de Chambord had been called to the

throne. He is a republican because he has republican principles. M. Casimir-Périer confesses that his principles are not republican; he is eclectic; he does not care for the form of government. No religion can make much progress if it is preached by unbelievers.

It is therefore not to be wondered at if the Chamber has rejected the Périer proposition, and shut itself resolutely up in the Septennat. Suppose we look at the nature of the Septennat. It would be difficult to theorize over it, as Montesquieu did upon the various forms of government. In reality, the Septennat is nothing better than the government of necessity. Much has been said lately in France about the Stadtholders of the Low Countries, and though it is difficult to find exact analogies in history, it cannot be denied that the President of our Republic is somewhat in the position of the Stadtholders. The French ambassador, Du Maurier, in his curious memoirs, which have been used with much profit by Mr. Motley, tells us that Maurice of Nassau had some idea of making himself a king. He consulted Barneveld, and the great statesman told him that he could hold almost regal powers under the name of Stadtholder. The Dutch were, in Barneveld's opinion, somewhat averse to the establishment of a monarchy, but they had no distinct republican principles. France has monarchical instincts, but she has become estranged from the old line of French kings; she can have no king at present, so long as the representative of monarchy offends her love of equality, her hatred of priestly rule; but the Republic which has issued from this impossibility has purely negative characters; the love of the Republic is, I am almost ashamed to say, only intense among those who consider the Republic as the absence of all law, the gratification of all the violent passions of the human race, the revenge of poverty, of obscurity, of ignorance. Maurice of Nassau well understood that the commonwealth of the Low Countries, surrounded by enemies and by dangerous allies, divided by religious passions, required a strong hand to lead it; if he could not be a king, he could be a guide; he was the head of the army, and he soon became the head of the state. When the Chamber rose against M. Thiers, did the country rebel? There was no attempt in Paris or in the provinces to reverse the verdict of the Assembly. And what did the Assembly mean by giving the executive power to the head of the army, to a man who until then was only known by his courage, his energy, and his silence? The taciturn Marshal could often be seen at the Versailles Theatre, witnessing quietly the debates in which M. Thiers played so brilliant and so useless a rôle. He had slowly made up his mind; when he accepted power he was resolved to give it only into the hands of a king, or, if no restoration was possible, to keep it in his own hands. It was a futile hope to think that he would favor the establishment of a permanent Republic, when he had been placed in his office by all the enemies of the Republican party; he considers himself as the head of the Conservatives, but he will not allow the Conservatives to make any change in the tenure of office which they have given to him. For seven years he will repeat to them what he said at Malakoff, "J'y suis, j'y resterai." During these seven years he will be called the President of the Republic, but his power is really *sui generis*, he is a sort of elected constitutional king; he holds the executive power in trust for a number of years, and his difficulties arise only from the fact that while the term of this trust has been fixed, its real nature is still undefined. The Marshal cares perhaps little about the character of this trust, he only insists upon the necessity of a Second Chamber, upon the right of dissolution, and upon a new electoral law; but he feels keenly the necessity of some constitutional laws, as at present he is nominally still under the authority of the Assembly.

To place a man in the highest office of the state and not to say at once what will be the rights and duties of this office, is an imprudent act; but it was committed on the 20th November, when the law of prorogation was voted. I warned many of my friends, at the time, of the imprudence they were committing, but the prorogation law was passed with a sort of *furia* which would stop at nothing. The monarchical party felt so keenly the humiliation which they had suffered by the failure of the restoration scheme, they were so angry with the Comte de Chambord, and so afraid at the same time that Thiers would use his opportunity and seize the power again, that they jumped as it were with their eyes shut into the Septennat. The Chamber felt like a speculator who becomes alarmed about his fortune, and gives an order to a broker the consequences of which he does not distinctly perceive. The Legitimists were the first to see that they had unwittingly shut completely the door on the Comte de Chambord; if he should come now to France with the tricolor flag in hand, the Septennat would stop his way. The Bonapartists have been warned in their turn that they are not at liberty to plot against the Septennat. They may sell photographs of their young prince, or distribute them by the million, but they will no longer be allowed to preserve a secret organization—committees and sub-committees—which has ramifications in the army, in the police, in all the administrations.

The Marshal has come to the conclusion that his best friends are to be found in the old Constitutional party; his actual Cabinet is free from any ultra-Legitimist or Bonapartist elements. It seems as if after many attempts we had at last found what I may call the *color* of the Septennat—a régime which consists merely in the preservation of order and the execution of the law. In the present divided state of France, on the ruins of so many dynasties and republics, what else could be done? The Marshal is not a dictator; in the Senate of the Empire he alone spoke and voted against a cruel law called the law of general security (which better deserved the name of law of general insecurity); he distinctly told the Emperor Napoleon III., the first time he saw him, that he had cast his vote against him at the time of the election of the President in 1849. He is a man of conscience, devoted to his duties, modest rather than bold, but very resolute and firm in action; the army has much respect for him, and the army has perforce become a great power in a country where there are so many factions. After the suicide of the Comte de Chambord, it was easy to prophesy that the country had been too near a monarchy to proclaim immediately the Republic, and that some personal government would be founded. The forces which had brought back not only France but the House of Orléans to the idea of a Legitimist restoration, were anti-republican forces. These forces are now at rest; an equilibrium of seven years has been found; and it may be almost safely conjectured that France may have for a long time a succession of personal governments. It may be that our Stadtholders will be the unwilling founders of a republic adapted to the wishes and interests of the French people; it may be also that among them will one day be found one of those men who can only be satisfied with a regal or imperial title. One thing seems to me certain: France is getting accustomed slowly to the present régime, which is the reality of what M. Thiers once called the Republic without republicans; the very name of Republic inscribed everywhere will force the Government to be very conservative, and sometimes even illiberal; and it is not impossible that the Republic may be founded in fact in France by a man who never looked at the Republicans but with contempt, who was made a duke and a marshal by Napoleon III., and who was educated among the most fervid adherents of legitimacy.

Correspondence.

THE WISCONSIN METHOD OF RAILROAD REFORM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: That the *Nation* should be pig-headed when wrong, probably follows of necessity from its possession of certain admirable qualities which contribute most to its value and its success; and we who largely rely upon it to do our thinking on current topics, must put up with its little vagaries, and be thankful that it so seldom is wrong.

It is anent the Grangers and the railroads. Why the *Nation* should fail to do justice to the farmers I cannot see, but it does. Their grievances at the hands of the railroads it states fully and forcibly; but it appears unable to realize the effect on the human mind produced by such grievances as it describes, and it imputes to "a fresh outburst of dishonesty by which a certain portion of the community is infected as with the scrofula," a movement which is the legitimate result of "rings among the managers of roads; stock-jobbing on the part of the directors; dishonest secrecy and equivocation in the transaction of business; corrupting influence on the State legislatures; corrupt discriminations made in freight charges; occasional raising of charges in the absence of competition, and occasional failures to lower them as much as the abundance of business would have warranted; and a general want of civility and of a spirit of accommodation among railroad officials."

In the face of such an indictment as this against the railroads, given in the words of the *Nation* (No. 472), one is at a loss to understand why it should seem necessary to attribute to innate dishonesty the uncouth floundering which an unfortunate public makes in its efforts to escape from oppression. Nor is it dishonesty. In the case of Wisconsin, the discussion of whose railroad troubles called forth the expression to which I object, a business acquaintance extending to all parts of the State, and embracing farmers, business men, legislators, and professional men of all classes, and continued through the whole period of this active railroad discussion, impels me to declare that in all this acquaintance I not only find no evidence of any reckless desire to obtain relief at any cost, regardless of the rights of corporations, but I find abundant evidence of a contrary spirit. And it is on my return from a month's trip in that State that I find awaiting me the *Nation* for the four weeks in July, which contain sentiments which seem to me so unjust to the people with whom I have been mingling, that I cannot refrain from protesting against them.

There is a deep-seated feeling in Wisconsin, as in the West generally, that they are being thoroughly imposed upon by the railroads. And who shall say that it has no foundation? There is also a determination, equally deep-seated, to make these corporations feel that they are within the power of the law; and by legal enactments, the wisest they know how to frame, to secure the redress of those grievances which they firmly believe to exist. That the Wisconsin railroad law is unwise is probably true. But railroad men have only their own mismanagement to blame that any law whatever has been passed; and it is their own "dishonest secrecy" that keeps from the public the information necessary to wise legislation. I can assure you that to secure the repeal of any part of the law that is unjust they have only to show that it is unjust, and in the meantime they are expected to submit to the legislation which their own misconduct has compelled.

The railroad question has been so thoroughly discussed at the West, that the community generally is much better instructed upon it than I suppose the general public at the East to be. The difficulty of dealing with it is well understood. Nobody claims to know what is right, or insists that the present legislation is final. But the sentiment is universal that a statute of some kind is necessary, and that, pending further light, the railroads must submit to what has been done.

I have said so much in defence of the *animus* of the railroad movement. Permit me a few words on two of the points in dispute.

1st. As to the justice of compelling corporations to submit to that provision of the Wisconsin constitution which places them entirely at the mercy of the legislature. I do not mean the legal necessity of submission, which I do not see how any one can doubt, but the absolute justice of it.

In a civilized state, the supreme power in legislation must rest somewhere, and the public must take the risk of its abuse. In Great Britain it rests in Parliament; and no one doubts that the British courts would enforce any act that Parliament might pass, whether just or unjust. If unjust, an aggrieved party could only appeal to Parliament for redress. In this country, there can be no question that this power is with the legislatures, under the State constitutions, except where expressly or implicitly given to the General Government. In Wisconsin, in railroad matters entirely within the State, there is happily no doubt that the legislature has full control. That this power is fearfully liable to abuse is too true. But where can it be placed better? Apparently, it must rest either with the legislatures or with the railroads themselves, and as between them certainly there can be but one choice. There is no other way. The railroads must take their chance of being oppressed; and the public must take their chance of being sold out by their servants. If either thing is done, an appeal to the people must supply the remedy. If this is wrong, the fault is in our form of government. Under that form, no other course is open. And does not the *Nation* very justly base all its political theory on the grand doctrine of the honesty of the majority? As to States not protected, like Wisconsin, by their constitution, is justice more likely to be done in them under the ægis of the Dartmouth College decision? If a corrupt legislature sells an oppressive charter to a railroad company, is it just that the doctrine of "vested rights" can prevent succeeding generations from repealing it? To what extent ought this generation to be able to bind posterity? To what extent will posterity probably submit to our entails?

2d. The *Nation* (No. 472), in the article above-quoted, says that reason for dissatisfaction exists in the fact that "rings among the managers of the roads, for the purpose of defrauding the company by making contracts with it, or furnishing it supplies above the market rates, had become shamefully common. So had the practice of stock-jobbing on the part of the directors. So had dishonest secrecy and equivocation in the management of its business; but from all these things it was the shareholders who suffered."

Now, this is just the point in dispute. If the "shareholders" will adopt the *Nation's* view, and will adjust their demands accordingly, we can make short work of the railroad question. The public believes that the "shareholders" have been shamefully cheated by their directors, who have either wasted a large part of the funds committed to them, or have applied them to their own purposes, and have abused their trusts in the other ways described by the *Nation*. They understand further that the "shareholders" claim that they paid their money in good faith, and are entitled to interest from the first on the whole amount. On the other hand, the public insists that the delinquent directors were the agents of the shareholders, who must bear the loss resulting from their unfaithfulness, and that the charges must be adjusted to pay interest only on the necessary cost of the improvements. And the call now is for data necessary to determine the accuracy of the popular belief.

In so far as railroad funds have been misapplied, what is the opinion of the *Nation*? Ought tariffs to be adjusted to pay interest on such funds or not?

EDWARD F. ADAMS.

CHICAGO, August 5.

[About the *animus* of the Wisconsin people we have nothing to say, except that we think its expression in legislation is a more trustworthy indication of its character than any general testimony of individuals. Our indictment of the railroad corporations, of which our correspondent seems to approve, is one which has been repeatedly made in these columns, and was made long before the Granger movement was heard of. We should cordially support any attempt to deal with the evils which it sets forth. But no such attempt has been made. There is in the Granger movement thus far no sign of any such attempt. There is much empty talk by Granger agitators about "rings and combinations," but the one scheme of reform thus far produced by them consists in an attack on property, such as that in Wisconsin. With the "rings" and "combinations," and the "dishonest secrecy and equivocation," and "the corrupting influence on State legislatures," no effort is made to deal, but an act is passed practically confiscating the property of the stockholders and bondholders, by compelling them to sell their wares at such prices as the purchasers, without enquiry, think "reasonable." In other words, the farmer's notion of railroad reform would seem, if one may judge from what has passed in Wisconsin, to consist in having himself and his baggage carried cheap. If the directors will do this, it would appear that they may cheat and equivocate and conceal and job and corrupt as much as they please. This is what the Potter law means, if it means anything. Of course, control over the railroads, as over all other interests within the State, must rest somewhere. There is nothing objectionable—on the contrary, there is everything that is commendable—in the resolutions of the Wisconsin constitution regarding charters. But when we say this we take it for granted that the legislature is and will be composed of civilized men, with the ordinary notions of the Western world regarding the sacredness of property. No legislature in Christendom has ever claimed or dared to exercise the power on which this Potter legislation rests, and which was confidently asserted by the State counsel in the first argument before the United States Court. The British Parliament, "omnipotent" though it be, has never put forward anything so monstrous. There is much talk in England of abating railroad abuses by the seizure of the roads by the state, but there has been no suggestion of this on any other terms than the payment to the stockholders of the market value of their shares. The doctrine that the right to "alter" or revoke a charter involves the right to confiscate the property created under it, is, as we have said, a brigand's doctrine. No matter what the provisions of the Wisconsin constitution may be, the legislature is bound to use its discretion under the fundamental canons of Western civilization. As the matter stands now, we can recall nothing resembling its action except the legislation of the Greek Parliament regarding the mines of Laurium.

Even if our correspondent's theory (that this action was caused by the rage generated by the ill-timed resistance and insolence of the railroad companies) be correct, we do not see that it mends matters. Most improvements in Wisconsin are made with the savings of foreigners and non-residents. These persons lend or invest their money in the State in reliance on the good-sense and integrity and moderation of the Wisconsin government. They take it for granted that the reasonable expectations of investors will not be arbitrarily interfered with; that charters inviting the subscription of capital will be granted in good faith and be honorably upheld; and that the State will do whatever is necessary to see that the corporations created by such charters are honorably managed. But if, whenever the directors of the railroads and the State legislature get into a quarrel, the legislature is capable of flying into a passion and inflicting a tremendous penalty on the stock and bondholders in order to punish the directors, we say unhesitatingly that such legislation is only worthy of Dahomey, and we tell investors at home and abroad that they cannot safely lend their money to a State which is governed in this way. The legislature has this year legislated in a passion against railroads; it may next year legislate in a passion against insurance companies or saw or grist mills, and the year after against mortgagees. There is never any telling what

passionate people will do. A passionate legislature or a passionate majority is simply a mob acting under the forms of law. The Potter law is simply a mild way of doing what a mob does when it burns a station or tears up rails or throws locomotives off the track.

We receive every now and then intimations that if we talk of this, the Wisconsin people will get angrier and attack the railroads worse than ever. To which we reply, that we do not think this result wholly undesirable. The rise and growing impudence of the "practical man" in politics during the last thirty years has deprived all arguments drawn from the experience of mankind of much of their force in popular eyes, and, indeed, introduced among us one of the marks of barbarism—a disposition to look on conclusions drawn from each man's own little observations as safer guides than the strongest generalizations of history. The "book-men" know perfectly well what the results of cheating the public creditors or capitalists or of inflating the currency are sure to be. But they have, as we saw last winter, the greatest difficulty in getting a hearing or influencing legislation. The West is now going through a craze about railroads in which the immediate petty interests of this year have assumed such control of the popular mind, that anybody who points out the probable effects of its goings-on upon its future prosperity is apt to be stigmatized as a speculator or the tool of a speculator; and it seems almost certain that any legislation on the railroad problem attempted in the present state of feeling will be mischievous. It would, therefore, we think, be most fortunate, and would greatly contribute to a rational solution of the problem hereafter, if Wisconsin or some other State would rush on and work out to the end what we have taken the liberty of calling the brigand mode of dealing with it. Its experience would be invaluable to the others. We confess, also, to having the deepest sympathy with the thousands, both at home and abroad, whose invested savings and securities such bodies as the Wisconsin Legislature are going to examine with the view of discovering the amount of interest which pure "justice" will permit them to bear. We assure them that in the present state of politics, and in the present moral condition of the politician, all schemes of this kind mean robbery at some stage or other; and as long as they are talked of, we mean to do our share towards putting investors on their guard against all borrowers and all enterprises of whatever kind in the States in which they are talked of. Until "the farmer" takes some less questionable step towards reform than announcing that he is part proprietor of all goods which he would like to buy cheap, he must make up his mind to hear unpleasant things from those who care nothing for his vote, and care a good deal about public morality. When strangers who have lent money to build Wisconsin railroads complain that the directors out there are cheating them, it is no answer for the Wisconsin farmer to say that they have cheated him too, and that he is going to get all he can out of them, and let the stock and bond holders go to the devil. The Wisconsin farmer is himself the State government, and it is his business not to begin thieving too, in a kind of sham despair over the general dishonesty, but to pass with all care and conscience such laws as will assure to every man who has any dealing with or in the State the satisfaction of all expectations which the State has sanctioned or encouraged.—ED. NATION.]

Notes.

THE July number of the *Publishers' Weekly* consists entirely of an American Educational Catalogue for 1874, which includes, by the way, the publications of Macmillan & Co., Geo. Routledge & Sons, and other English houses having agencies here. The catalogue is classified, and the arrangement of works according to the authors' names.—G. P. Putnam's Sons publish immediately, in connection with the English publishers, Dorothy Wordsworth's 'Recollections of a Tour,' this tour being one made in company with Coleridge and Wordsworth through Scotland in 1803. The work is edited by Principal Shairp. Also, in their series of Elementary and Advanced Science, an 'Introduction to the Study of General Biology,' by Thomas G. MacGinley, and a 'Manual of Metallurgy,' by Wm. Henry

Greenwood.—While waiting for the appearance of the map of Africa in Stieler's Hand-Atlas, the smaller map prepared for his School-Atlas may be recommended to those who take a special interest in the geography of this continent. A proof-sheet of it is given in Petermann's *Mittheilungen* for June 25. The same number contains a reduced copy of the map of Captain Hall's Arctic explorations published by the Hydrographic Office, U. S. N. —'Ritter's Geographisch-statistisches Lexikon' has reached the 6th part in both volumes, the publication of which goes on simultaneously (New York: B. Westermann & Co.) Apropos of this gazetteer, of which the first edition appeared in 1835, Dr. Keber tells a curious story in the *Mittheilungen*. The original conception was due to a certain Privat-docent of history in Halle, who broke down, however, in the early stages of the work, and was relieved by two brothers, theological students, whose perseverance was crowned with success. When the time came to fix upon a name for their venture they chose that of the father of scientific geography, and lived to have the assurance of a reviewer that "the name [of Ritter] is a sufficient guaranty of the excellence of the work"!—The newly-founded Geographical Society of Amsterdam follows the example of kindred bodies in maintaining an organ, and has just issued the first number of its *Tijdschrift*.—The numismatic collection of Mr. James L. Hill, formerly mayor of Madison, Wisconsin, is offered for sale up to October 1, proposals being received for the whole or for a part. The number of pieces is between 5,000 and 6,000, inscribed in nearly twenty languages. The most ancient medal mentioned in the catalogue (to be had of W. S. Main, assignee, Madison) is one of Alexander. We remark also the following, as more curious than rare, however: a silver medal of Venice surveying the map of conquered Greece (1637); the Massachusetts Pine-tree shilling (1652); nine small coins of Sedan (from 1642); and a white-metal medal—"obv. bust of Stonewall Jackson; rev. Bull Run, etc."—executed in Paris. In American coinage, Colonial and Federal, the collection is noticeably complete.—We have often alluded to the changes in the population of New England caused by the influx of Canadians. The intercourse between this country and the British Provinces is now or promises to become so intimate as to warrant the experiment of a newspaper devoted to its furtherance. We have before us the tenth number of an eight-page weekly published in Boston, called the *American Canadian*.

—The American Association for the Advancement of Science has held its annual meeting at Hartford during the past and present week. The most important business before the meeting has been the consideration and adoption of a new constitution, designed to remedy a long-continued evil growing out of the popular character of the Association. The scientific character of the papers and proceedings has very frequently been such as seriously to compromise the standing of the Association in the scientific world. To remedy this, it has been decided to select from the members those who are engaged in science and form them into a separate class of "Fellows." All the officers of the Association are now to be chosen from this class, and the power of the several committees to exclude improper or unsuitable communications has been increased. All friends of science will await with interest the working of this improvement. The necessity of some vigorous and effective measures must be obvious to any one who will simply examine the lists of papers presented for reading. Among some hundred authors, the number of really eminent men may be counted on one's fingers, while the large majority are entirely unknown, and present papers which, so far as can be judged from their titles, are of no scientific importance. We greatly doubt whether this evil will be cured by anything short of a radical change in the publishing system of the Association. So long as there is a volume of "proceedings" to be published, so long will there be a pressure on the part of the less desirable class of members to have their papers printed, and this pressure can be resisted only by a little more moral courage on the part of the Standing Committee than it has hitherto exhibited. While such papers are admitted, we may be sure that few of the able members will wish their productions to be seen in such company. It is gratifying to notice that the present meeting exhibits a decided improvement in this respect, and that notwithstanding the general unimportance of the communications, the subjects of ether and atoms do not appear among those discussed before the Association.

—The discussion about the John Brown Song has brought out our contemporary, the *Methodist*, which does not pretend to original knowledge about any of the words except the chorus, but lays claim to the tune as good Methodist music, known in all the camp-meetings. The enemies of the Methodist denomination may see in this an additional proof of an old accusation against the brethren. This was to the effect that whenever anybody died who was at the same time a man of mark and of unknown "anteecedents" as regards denominational creed, the brethren were apt in all kind-

ness to make a "brevet Methodist" out of him. They were credited with having a good deal of zeal for the enlargement of the borders of the church, as indeed no follower of Asbury would deny; but the thoughtless among the world's people compared their eagerness in this respect to a well-known habit of the Irish mind, which no sooner discovers that somebody has made a name in the world than it discovers also that his descent can be traced to the Phenicians. We imagine, however, that the John Brown tune will be left in the possession of our contemporary as undoubted Methodist property. Another writer coming to our assistance from Baltimore recalls the days when many years ago he used to hear at colored camp-meetings a song beginning thus:

"When this poor body lies mouldering in the ground,"

and which we suppose had also the proper chorus. And before it was adopted for use in Northern politics it had got into Southern. Our readers will remember the strength of the "Know-Nothing" or "American" feeling in Maryland. Our correspondent says that in 1858, when Thomas Swann (American) was elected Mayor of Baltimore over Robert Clinton Wright, the song of the Plug-Uglies, who had paid the necessary attention to that election, began with the words,

"Robert Wright's body lies mouldering in the ground."

We are not told if the line following the thrice-repeated line had any reference to the soul. It will be seen, then, that the song may by possibility have had a negro origin—a fact which would have an appropriateness. The *Methodist* observes that when during the war a call was made for a national song, and a committee was appointed to select one, the John Brown Song was not sent in; and the writer ventures the assertion that had it been sent in it would have been rejected—which we have no doubt is a perfectly safe thing to say. A "call for a national song" is not exactly the sort of demand which produces supplies such as the song we know; nor is it usual that the gentlemen selected to form the committee on these occasions are favorites of the nine Muses. They are, on the contrary, much likelier to be taken by the glitter of such fabrications as Mrs. Julia Ward Howe's "Battle Hymn of the Republic," with its false ring in every line and word. But

"Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord"

was soon dead.

—Readers of the newspapers who have been made aware of the "celebration of the centenary of the discovery of oxygen" in the United States, have perhaps not noticed that in England also something of the same kind was going on. At Birmingham, at the unveiling of a statue of Priestley, Professor Huxley delivered an address in which he asked the patience of the audience "for a short time, while he laid before them the grounds and considerations which had led the fellow-countrymen of Priestley, after a lapse of seventy years from the time of his death, to do this honor to a man who was neither a prince nor a statesman nor a general, and was not, in fact, one of those to whom mankind generally delighted to erect statues, either before or after their death." This Professor Huxley proceeded to do in a very interesting manner, showing that it was not merely in honor of the discovery of a previously unknown gas that Priestley's memory was being celebrated, but also because he had been, in dangerous and tyrannous times, a fearless and honest searcher after truth, and a conscientious martyr to duty. In Professor Huxley's own words, "he took it that Priestley was of opinion that before he was a man of science he was a man in the first place, and a citizen in the second place." and Professor Huxley could himself "entirely sympathize with him if he held the duties of his manhood and of his citizenship to be vastly superior to those of his philosophership, and if he thought that the securing of that freedom which is the essential condition of the progress of science and the progress of the human race, was a vastly more important matter than advancing knowledge in this direction or that direction, vast as was the importance of that progress itself." In order to understand the importance of Priestley's labors for science, we have to carry ourselves back to a period (and it was only a hundred years ago) when "there was no one who believed, and hardly any one who suspected, that the doctrines of the ancients—that air, water, and fire are elements—was other than true"; and to understand the courage of Priestley as a political and religious reformer, we have to recollect that he was a dissenter, and a Unitarian, and a political liberal, at a time when "his preaching was a crime"; when "every Sunday during which he abstained from going to a service which he abhorred he could have been visited by a fine and imprisonment"; when "society was in a state of corruption which could only be compared to that of the Second Empire in France"; and "when bribery was the means of government, and peculation its reward"; when "four-fifths of the seats in the House of Commons were

notoriously for sale in one shape or another"; and when "the minister required to know the state of the vote market more than any other." Whatever opinions one may hold nowadays about the perfectibility of mankind, Professor Huxley thinks no candid person can deny that the world is better off than it was in the "dead waste and middle of the eighteenth century," as Lowell calls it somewhere; and that we are improved in knowledge and liberty in no small measure due to Priestley and his fellows.

—We find the following paragraph, copied from the English journals, circulating widely in ours:

"In preaching at Westminster Abbey, the Bishop of Lincoln said that cremation would, he believed, imperil the doctrine of the resurrection, and so produce the most disastrous consequences."

One would be inclined to disbelieve the statement entirely were it not that substantially the same idea has been frequently expressed both in this country and in England. It is really extremely difficult to understand the condition of an educated mind in which such a notion finds lodgment; and the fact that it does find lodgment and expression is a very strong argument for a more general diffusion of scientific education. Can it be supposed that a matter so important as the resurrection of the body is deemed to be, has been left dependent upon accident or upon the caprice of men in the method of disposing of the bodies of the dead? Does the Bishop of Lincoln imagine that Latimer, Ridley, Cranmer, and all the other martyrs of the stake are to exist for ever in some disembodied state, while their less deserving brethren who were more fortunate in the method of their death inherit that glorified body of which St. Paul speaks? How, too, with Wicliffe, whose remains are reported to have been burned years after his death? Do not these gentlemen (the Bishop of Lincoln and others) know that, scientifically speaking, the results of burning and of slow decay are precisely the same—viz., the resolution of the body into its constituent elements; indeed, that the processes are so nearly identical that Liebig gives to decay the name "cremacausis"—slow combustion—and points out the identity of the operations in everything except time? It would hardly seem necessary to explain, even to those clergymen who always speak of science as "science falsely so-called," that by either process no particle of matter is lost or destroyed. If then the problem involved were the restoration of the body destroyed, the constituent elements to be brought together would be the same in either case. But St. Paul distinctly points out that his doctrine does not call for any identity of substance, likening the change to the germination and growth of grain, in an analogy as clear as it is beautiful. The theologic ignorance, therefore, displayed by these timid persons, in so far as they are clergymen, would seem as disgraceful as the scientific ignorance is lamentable. We do not mean by what we have said to express any opinion in regard to the practice of cremation or the doctrine of resurrection, but simply to point out that they can have no connection with each other.

—The inherent defect of the trades-unions, by which the skilled and the unskilled, the lazy and the industrious workmen are merged together instead of being sharply discriminated, is a defect of principle, and must of necessity come to grief in the long run. It is best met by insisting rigidly upon the opposite principle. One of the largest shipbuilders in the United Kingdom writes to Mr. Brassey, M.P. (who prints the letter in a late number of the *Contemporary Review*), that in 1868 there was no piece-work done in his establishment, but that since that date he has been steadily introducing it, till now it is the rule for the iron department and blacksmith work, and time payments are no longer more than one-half the total. This "payment by results," as he calls it, put an end, in the first place, to the trouble formerly experienced in procuring skilled iron hands. Those who were retained worked all the harder, and added their ingenuity to that of their employers to save unskilled labor by the introduction of machinery. As a consequence, the skilled and the unskilled men now earn from 50 to 75 per cent. more than they did, while the work per ton of iron in the ships is about 20 per cent. cheaper; "and, from a much smaller number of men being required, the supply is approximately equal to the demand." Moreover, since the introduction of piece-work, it has for the first time been possible to estimate to within a fraction what the iron and blacksmith work will cost. The product of the yard in 1868 was steamships aggregating 13,000 tons; in 1870, 18,500; the number of hands in the former case, 1,776; in the latter, 1,550. "In 1868, the average wage earned per week of 60 hours was about 17s. 1d.; in 1873, per week of 54 hours, about 22s. 9d. In 1873, the cost per ton, gross new measurement, in wages only, was fully 20s. cheaper than in 1868, but this reduction is due to the piece-work departmentments. Finally," says the writer, "the piece-work system keeps us clearer of disputes and trouble with our men than we were under the old method; and men and employers alike make a better result. I look to 'payment by

results' as a system calculated to put an end to many trade disturbances; but trades-unions are opposed to it."

—The flight of Marshal Bazaine from Ste. Marguerite lends decided interest to an account of a recent interview with him which we find in the *Milan Perseveranza* of July 29. The Paris correspondent of this journal writes that an intimate friend of his, an Italian, who had been in the French service in Africa and, under Bazaine, in Mexico, made extraordinary efforts to visit the General in his confinement, and, at length, towards the end of May, succeeded in obtaining permission of the Minister of the Interior. On reaching the island he was directed to the official who was responsible for the custody of Bazaine; a civilian as it proved, and not the commander of the garrison, since it was feared the latter might be influenced even unconsciously by one who had been his superior officer. The Italian visitor, showing his permit, begged to see Marshal Bazaine, but was promptly informed, in the spirit of '93, that there was no such person on the premises; there was, however, a *Monsieur* Bazaine. This punctilio satisfied, the interview was allowed to take place, and the Italian was conducted to the low barracks, built out on one side to the precipice overlooking the sea, on the other facing a narrow esplanade, some twenty by fifty yards in area, the limit of freedom for the Marshal and his family of six. The conversation between the state prisoner and his former comrade in arms is not reported in full. Bazaine enquired what progress the Italian army was making, and asked after several of the generals whose acquaintance he had made in the campaign of '59; and added that if his lot should undergo a change (*se la sua sorte cangiasse*), he had a mind to settle in Italy with his family. "Does Bazaine hope to escape from Ste. Marguerite?" asked the correspondent of his friend. "He did not tell me," was the reply; "but he seemed to me to believe that the French authorities might shortly be disposed to mitigate a punishment which involved not him alone, but also his entire family. Perhaps he has hopes of being exiled." The event shows that Madame Bazaine's hopes at least were of exile, though not through banishment. Did the Marshal leave behind him the memoirs with which he occupied his enforced leisure?

—Vol. I. of a work important to students of chess literature and to lovers of the game has just been published by Julius Springer in Berlin (New York: B. Westermann & Co.): Antonius van der Linde's 'Geschichte und Litteratur des Schachspiels.' It is a fine large octavo of 576 pp., illustrated with 415 diagrams, and traces the history of the game from its origin in India down to the year 1795, when the first part of Allgaier's 'Anweisung zum Schachspiel' was issued. We reserve an extended notice of the book for a later number, premising, as an indication of the thoroughness to be expected from the work, that the author has been able to consult all but one of the more than 200 noted treatises on the game—the exception being a Spanish work, F. Vicent's book of problems, published at Valencia in 1495, and perhaps, as the publisher's circular says, not now existent. The author has naturally paid much attention to the bibliography of his subject, and has been helped here by the experience gained from previous bibliographical labors in this and other studies. The chess problems of the Middle Ages, more than 2,500 in number, preserved in Arabic, Latin, Spanish, Old French, Italian, and German texts, Van der Linde has reduced to 372, all of which he reproduces in this first volume. Another volume will follow; and, as all the manuscript is in the hands of the printer, Vol. II. may be expected confidently and with pleasure before the end of the year.

RECENT POETRY.*

I.

OUR American market has not been very fully supplied with poetry this year, whether domestic or reprinted from foreign authors, but it has nevertheless presented a goodly array of volumes. Among these the first place has been easily taken by George Eliot's 'Legend of Jubal,' and Lord Lytton's 'Fables in Song.' The former had a peculiar interest as challenging the public to a second judgment on its author's claims to attention as a poet. The first judgment, rendered after consideration of 'The Spanish Gypsy,' was not of a character to satisfy an ambitious author. The work was read with respect, and it was decorously praised in the critical journals; but the praise was no more than decorous, and a poem that is read with respect and without delight is not a work with which to make one's advent as a candidate for the bays. In short, 'The Spanish Gypsy' was an interesting performance, but as proof of genuine poetical powers in the writer it was not successful. The same thing may be said of this 'Legend of Jubal.' It is wise, it is witty, it contains poetical thought

* 'The Legend of Jubal, and Other Poems. By George Eliot.' Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co. 1874.
'Fables in Song.' By Robert, Lord Lytton.' Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co. 1874.

and sentiment, it shows mastery of several people's methods of poetical expression, but it is seen to be George Eliot's prose, and not to be poetry. The reader everywhere is made to feel the painful limitations of the moralist, and the female moralist at that; and the female moralist to whom life (or, as one may better say, certain lives as she can contrive to look at them) appears to be a dreary mistake and failure. There is never any clear escape from positivism duly cultured, and the great law that sin corrodes character, and the great law that individual aspiration is futile, and the various other laws which George Eliot, the novelist, has inculcated with so much force and skill. We are always really in the hard world of prose and fact and necessary sequences, and never in the atmosphere of "a fuller and larger existence," such as the poets give. The result is that the reader is somewhat depressed, and that by-and-by he refuses to allow George Eliot a rank among the poets, just as formerly he grudged her a really first place among great novelists. The wonderful degree of the feminine power of observation which she possesses, her great humorous power, her philosophizing, often so acute—all still left him saying at the end, This is very remarkable; perhaps the author of 'Waverley,' for instance, could not have done the half of it; but there is a thing called life, the life of men in this world, which is more than meat and raiment, and more also than the most skilfully-contrived and elaborately-thought-out schemes of moralized existence that can be made for us by the cleverest of philosophizing women. A sense of this, whether due to a masculine breadth of view arising from a wider experience of life and its opportunities, or a masculine feeling of courage and energy which does not busy itself much with theories of the universe, the reader will not miss in the poorest of Scott's novels. We are mistaken if even George Eliot's power of humorous observation will blind a second generation to her failure in this respect, and her venture into the field of poetry pure and simple has not had the effect of deferring the discovery that her wings are of the ostrich kind, and that she cannot lift herself from the ground.

'The Legend of Jubal' gives its name to the book, but is neither the most important nor the most pleasing poem of the volume. The latter praise will be given to the set of sonnets which treat of the affection which a little girl feels for her brother—or rather of the affection which she felt for him long ago, and upon which she now looks back with fond remembrance. She sees it in a frame of old scenes, and of old scenes which, as she now perceives, she gazed at with the wondering and wonder-making eyes of childhood. All this is very pretty. George Eliot had previously shown her appreciation of the brotherly and sisterly relation, and it is with a sincere pleasure that one contemplates her as "the little sister" which she tells us she would like to be could she be born into a new world of childhood. We make room for one of the sonnets, so to call them:

- "I cannot choose but think upon the time
When our two lives grew like two buds that kiss
At lightest thrill from the bee's swinging chime,
Because the one so near the other is.
- "He was the elder and a little man
Of forty inches, bound to show no dread,
And I the girl that puppy-like now ran,
Now lagged behind my brother's larger tread.
- "I held him wise, and when he talked to me
Of snakes and birds, and which God loved the best,
I thought his knowledge marked the boundary
Where men grew blind, though angels knew the rest.
- "If he said, 'Hush!' I tried to hold my breath;
Wherever he said, 'Come!' I stepped in faith."

In a different vein and suggestive of our authoress quite grown up is the poem called "A Minor Prophet," which trenchantly analyzes a reformer of the long-haired variety:

- "I have a friend, a vegetarian seer,
By name Elias Baptist Butterworth,
A harmless, bland, disinterested man,
Whose ancestors in Cromwell's day believed
The Second Advent certain in five years,
But when King Charles the Second came instead,
Revised their date and sought another world:
I mean—not heaven but—America."

The 'Legend of Jubal' teaches that the pursuit of art and the service of one's fellow-men must be allowed to be their own reward. Jubal invents all sweet instruments of sound; then wandering away he is absent for years, but returning in his patriarchal age, and hearing men play his music and praise his name, he announces himself as the creator of the lyre; upon this he is derided and denounced:

- "Two, the most devout,
In honor of great Jubal thrust him out,"

and he is left for consolation to the thought which is the key-note of the poem.

Lord Lytton's 'Fables in Song' is a book of the usual embarrassing

sort turned out by this author, and the knack of producing which he inherited legitimately from his father before him. It is so elaborate in its scheme, the author appears to have so grave a belief in his own capacity and in the sufficiency of his work, that the reader is bothered by the necessary doubt whether there may not be something in it all, and whether he was right in thinking the writer undeserving of serious consideration. Something there doubtless is in it; but we have found it small in amount and of a thin quality. The book is a book of fables. That is to say, Lord Lytton's notions on a thousand-and-one topics, literary, social, political, what-not, are set forth by means of interlocutions between all sorts of objects, animate and inanimate. It will be seen that this is giving to the word fable a wide definition, but we do not know that anybody need object, especially as Lord Lytton might have if he liked written us a philosophic prefatory treatise on the nature of the fable and the truly artistic mode of employing it. Of the views and opinions thus offered us, some are new enough or well enough illustrated to make the poem expressing them a clever and agreeable piece of work; others of them are of such weight as attaches to the opinion that the rabble should not rule, expressed with the profuse verbosity of which our author is a master. We give a fair specimen—selected in part, however, for its mere brevity—of the better class of these effusions:

A PROVISION FOR LIFE.

A pine-tree bless'd its favor'd fate, because
Room to grow barely 'twixt the grudging jaws
Of one of the chapped sandstone's gravel'd flaws

It found: where early chance had cast its lot
On a bare rock, with leave to thrive, or not,
As later chance might choose, in that chill spot.

"Ah, what good fortune!" sighed the grateful tree,
"That in this fissure the wind planted me!
But for its inch of earth, what should I be?"

Fool! Thy good fortune was not the bestowing
Of that scant handful of earth's overflowing.
It was—and is—thy faculty of growing.

HENRY THOMAS COLEBROOKE.*

SEVEN AND THIRTY years have elapsed since the death of the eminent scholar whose biography and essays lie before us; and yet, assiduously and successfully as the subjects which employed his pen have, of late years, been prosecuted, research and criticism have found little to amend in his statements, or to invalidate in his conclusions. Alike for amplitude of investigation and for keenness and impartiality of judgment, he is still revered, by Orientalists, as a model all but faultless. Nor is it surprising that he should be thus signalized. The fact is, that, explore literature as widely as we may, we shall hardly discover a better exemplification of rigidly scientific method than is uniformly exhibited in his numerous and multifarious disquisitions.

Henry Thomas Colebrooke, youngest son of Sir George Colebrooke, the first baronet, was born in London in 1765. From the age of twelve he spent several years in France; and in 1782 he sailed for Calcutta, having been appointed to a writership in the Indian Civil Service. Though, almost at the very beginning of his career, he displayed the same industry and energy by which it was subsequently distinguished throughout, it was some time before he grappled triumphantly, after repeated attacks and retreats, with the study of Sanskrit; and his first substantive publication, dated in 1795, was a treatise, written in concert with Mr. Anthony Lambert, on the husbandry and commerce of Bengal. Early in the preceding year, however, the first of his invaluable essays was read, in the presence of Sir William Jones, before the Asiatic Society, which he had joined in 1792, and was afterwards contributed to the 'Asiatic Researches.' His rapid rise to the highest judicial position in India was due, in large measure, to his unrivalled intimacy with the original fountains of Hindu jurisprudence; but, sedulous as he must have been to attain that intimacy, he contrived to find leisure, simultaneously, not only to slay many a tiger, but to examine competently well nigh the entire range of Hindu literature. In 1810 he married Miss Elizabeth Wilkinson, who died in 1814, one of their three sons having died before her. Two months after losing his wife, he resigned his appointments and returned to England. With the exception of some months given to a trip to the Cape of Good Hope, the remainder of his life, until he was disabled by various infirmities, was spent in unceasing literary and scientific activity. For several of his last years he was never free from pain, and was unable to leave his bed; and for a still longer period he was afflicted with total blindness. It was then that the stoicism of his vigorous nature, which had always been more or less obvious, announced itself with noticeable dis-

* 'Life and Essays of H. T. Colebrooke.' 3 vols. London: Trübner & Co. 1873.

tininess; for he was rarely heard to complain. The death of his eldest surviving son, a young man of remarkable promise, was the last and the heaviest of the many domestic afflictions which he suffered in his old age. The father at last succumbed to a complication of maladies on the 10th of March, 1837.

For details such as alone will suffice for forming a just estimate of Colebrooke, either as a man or as an author, we must refer to the excellent biography for which we are indebted to his son. He was never at any school, but pursued his studies at his father's house, under a tutor; and we are told, that, when only fifteen, he was well advanced in his knowledge of Greek, Latin, and mathematics, not to speak of his perfect familiarity with French, and some proficiency in German. That his mind matured very early is evident from the letters which he sent to his parents from India, while he was still in his minority. Once reconciled to his new home, but not till then, he long devoted a continuous attention, yet not exclusively, to the learning of the Brahmins. In naming law, religion, philosophy, astronomy, algebra, geometry, grammar, lexicography, and inscriptions, we may convey some idea of the wide range of topics for information on which he pored, during many years, over the dreary diffuseness and the knotty obscurities of Sanskrit literature and science. With all the subjects just enumerated he has dealt, either in dissertations or in translations, and, as to law, in volumes of formidable dimensions. But he was also a profound and advanced politician, a sound political economist, a zealous botanist, geologist, zoologist, and orologist, and an observant and instructive traveller. Many, we suspect, who know him solely as the greatest of English Sanskritists, have not even heard of his work on 'Import of Colonial Corn,' of his 'Treatise on Obligations and Contracts,' drawn chiefly from the records of Roman law, or of his monographs on 'Frankincense,' 'The Camphor-tree,' 'The Height of the Himalaya Mountains,' 'The Dichotomous and Quinary Arrangements in Natural History,' or of his 'Hypothesis to account for the Variable Depth of the Ocean,' or of his 'Speculation concerning the Structure of the Earth.' Many-sided indeed, and altogether noteworthy, must be the man who, stepping aside from the specialty for which he stood pre-eminent, could discourse on matters so heterogeneous as these, especially if he discoursed on them, as Colebrooke discoursed without fail, in a way that challenged serious and respectful consideration.

Two volumes of 'Colebrooke's Essays,' selected by their author, were passed through the press by the gifted Friedrich Rosen in 1837. Except to an insignificant number of readers, they then possessed but slight value. Few periodicals of the day acknowledged their existence; and a large part of the impression was destroyed as waste-paper. But the times have greatly changed, since 1837, as regards the interest felt in Orientalism. There must now be thousands of persons, in Europe and America, to whom the work in question will be, henceforth, an indispensable companion. A new edition of it was projected, a few years ago, by Mr. Fitzedward Hall, at whose instance Sir T. E. Colebrooke has expanded into a goodly volume the slight memoir of his father published just after his death. Another of our countrymen, Professor W. D. Whitney, was associated in the undertaking, which ultimately had to be abandoned; and the searching notes which he has contributed to Colebrooke's 'Essay on the Vedas,' lead us to regret that some of the other essays, and, above all, those on Hindu Astronomy, should not have been enriched by his annotations. These annotations Professor Whitney would only have had to collect from the somewhat inaccessible corners where, in years past, he secluded them; and Colebrooke's latest editor, in satisfying himself with little more than bare references to the facts, arguments, and demonstrations by which Professor Whitney has set aside not a few of Colebrooke's deductions, compels some qualification of our otherwise entire approval of the manner in which he has discharged his functions. Without recognition, accompanied either by adoption or by argumentative rejection, of Professor Whitney's conclusions touching the Hindu asterisms, no future treatment of them can evade the imputation of reprehensible defect. The present edition of Colebrooke's Essays was executed by Professor Edward B. Cowell, a scholar of universal accomplishments, and the most distinguished of living English Sanskritists. His notes, corrective and supplementary, are derived from almost every relevant source, are commendably copious, and are never superfluous. Professor Cowell is to be thanked for having rescued from oblivion the six articles by which he has amplified his edition of the essays beyond the matter of the first. But Colebrooke's reply to Bently should have been given unabridged, if at all, and, rather than as a bare text, with full comments. The reader should be warned, too, that the statement made as to Professor Whitney's views regarding Biot's absurd theories is not wholly accurate.

Manual of the Constitution of the United States. Designed for the instruction of American Youth in the duties, obligations, and rights of Citizen-

ship. By Israel Ward Andrews, D.D., President of Marietta College. (Cincinnati: Wilson, Hinkle & Co. 1874.)—President Andrews states in his preface that this work grew out of the researches which he found himself compelled to make in order to prepare himself for the duties of the class-room; but that "a conviction that a knowledge of our government cannot be too widely diffused, and that large numbers would welcome a good work on this subject, has led to the attempt to make the volume a manual adapted for consultation and reference by the citizen at large." There is a third function of this Manual which also deserves to be pointed out, and that is the instruction of foreigners as well as of native citizens in regard to the nature and historic development of our institutions. In each aspect of its usefulness, the work cannot fail to meet with approval, and as a text-book it is by all odds the best of its kind. We hope that every effort will be made to introduce it into our schools and colleges, and that the editor and his publishers will at least once in five years revise it in accordance with the changes which our machinery of government is constantly undergoing. The plan of the Manual renders such a revision easy.

The Constitution is too apt to be regarded (if not taught) as a definite and self-interpreting instrument, and arguments as to what is and what is not constitutional are usually conducted as if the gravest questions could be settled by any one who had a good memory of the text, or who had access to an index or concordance to our national charter. Ideas like these are effectually dispelled by the Manual, which records in detail the organization and growth of each department of the Government, and shows the Constitution to be something more than the skeleton framework of '87 plus a certain number of amendments, by tracing the legislation which has given its provisions their practical effect, the judicial decisions which have defined its scope, and the vast political and social revolution which cast out sectionalism and slavery together, and ensured not only "a more perfect Union" but for the first time a truly republican form of government—of, by, and for the people. In this view the Constitution is seen to be a living, ever-varying manifestation of the public will; and what is constitutional at any given time is to be ascertained by reference to the latest acts of Congress and the latest opinions of the Courts upon the subject under discussion. For instance, it is constitutional not only that the senators from each State shall be "chosen by the legislature thereof" (Art. I., Sec. 3, clause 1), but on the second Tuesday after the meeting and organization of the legislature, or, in case of vacancy occurring during the session, on the second Tuesday after they have had notice of the vacancy (Act of July 25, 1866).

We have not room to specify those discussions of the Manual which have an immediate and current interest. They embrace the most recent political events, such as the "back-pay grab," concerning which it is remarked that every act of Congress to increase its own pay has been retroactive, and that "all the acts prior to that of 1866 were separate and independent acts; but the one of 1866, and that of 1873, were sections in appropriation bills"—an important and not the only distinction. The question of legal-tender is soundly treated, though the second decision of the Supreme Court is not quite exactly stated; and the nature of the "present Government paper, circulating as money," is clearly set forth. "If," says President Andrews, in a chapter which may not recommend his Manual to some Western school committees, "the Treasury notes in the hands of the people are veritable money, as truly so as gold, then the United States is not indebted to those who hold them any more than it is to those who have gold eagles in their possession; and the Treasury Department should not report these Treasury notes as a part of the national debt."

A few trifling errata have fallen under our observation. On p. 50—"The Constitution does not require the representative to be a voter"—voter seems to be printed for *native*. Page 104, "the coinage act of 1853" stands, we presume, for that of February, 1873. In studying the history of representation and direct taxation under the Constitution, some confusion might be caused by the statement on page 52 regarding the three-fifths rule:

"The adoption of this rule was favorable to the slave States, as it increased the number of their representatives; it was unfavorable as it increased their proportion of direct taxes. The advantage was greater than the disadvantage, however, as they enjoyed the increased number of representatives continually, while direct taxes have been levied but five times since the adoption of the Constitution."

Now, it is true that a greater proportion of taxes had to be borne by the white population of a slave State, as compared with the white population in any non-slaveholding State; but, the slaves not being legal persons, any capitation tax based on total population must have fallen entirely upon their owners, had it not been for this express relief of two-fifths in the census. Regarding the white slaveholding community by itself, therefore, there was no "disadvantage" and really no "increase" whatever. The rule was, in fact, of their own concocting; they fortified it by Art. I., Sec. 9, clause 4,

as is duly noted on p. 150, and secured this last clause against amendment prior to 1868 (Art. V.); and, finally, threw all their weight in favor of indirect taxation—a policy, by the way, which naturally had the effect of preparing the country to receive the doctrine of protection, though the South has never had her responsibility for it brought home to her.

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THE WEEK IN TRADE AND FINANCE.

NEW YORK, August 17, 1874.

MONEY continues to be abundant on call at 2 to 2½ per cent., and on time at 4 per cent. for 60 days and 7 per cent. for the balance of the year. In commercial paper there is a limited amount of business doing; the rates on prime dry-goods endorsed paper are quoted 5 to 7 per cent. for that having from 60 days to four months to run.

The statement of the Clearing-House banks on Saturday was unfavorable. The loss in specie reflects the shipment of gold last week to Europe. The total reserve is down \$3,359,400. The total reserve required by law is \$59,478,875, and the banks hold \$88,930,100, or \$29,451,225 more than the legal requirement. The surplus reserve last week was \$31,724,100, so that there has been a decrease this week of \$2,272,875.

The following is a comparison of the averages for the past two weeks:

	August 8.	August 15.	Differences.
Loans.....	\$280,534,300	\$279,250,300	Dec.. \$1,284,100
Specie.....	25,740,000	22,352,000	Dec.. 3,388,000
Legal tenders.....	66,549,500	66,578,100	Inc.. 28,600
Deposits.....	242,261,600	237,918,500	Dec.. 4,343,100
Circulation.....	25,805,700	25,809,100	Inc.. 3,400

The following shows the relations between the total reserve and the total liabilities:

	August 8.	August 15.	Differences.
Specie.....	\$25,740,000	\$22,352,000	Dec.. \$3,388,000
Legal tenders.....	66,549,500	66,578,100	Inc.. 28,600
Total reserve.....	\$92,289,500	\$88,930,100	Dec.. \$3,359,400
Reserve required against deposits.....	60,565,400	59,478,875	
Excess of reserve above legal requirement.....	31,724,100	29,451,225	Dec.. 2,272,875

The stock market during the week has remained in its usual state of quietness, and the "Street" has apparently become quite reconciled to this order of things. The suits now going on at Madison, Wisconsin, which have from the first affected the market, have caused a feverish feeling in Milwaukee and St. Paul and Chicago and Northwestern, according as the reports which have come to hand indicated this or that result of the cases brought before the court. The arguments in the different suits have been closed, and as yet no decision has been rendered, but as the point to be decided is in regard to the jurisdiction of the State Court to issue an injunction, the decision may be in favor of or against the railroads without settling the main question as to the right of the State to regulate by law the tariffs of the roads. It is expected by many that the fall will bring about a more active business in stocks, and they look forward to largely increased railroad earnings as compared with those of last year; should such be the case, it is probable that stocks will advance, starting as they will from a very low basis.

In the investment stocks the chief event of importance was the sharp decline in Chicago and Alton, which was caused by an extensively-circulated report that the Company would probably cut down its usual 5 per cent. six months' dividend to 4 per cent., and that possibly no dividend whatever would

be paid. The common stock dropped to 99, and the preferred to 103. Subsequently, when it was officially announced that the directors had declared the usual 5 per cent. dividend, the price of the common advanced to 103½ and the preferred to 108. Chicago, Burlington and Quincy has been in good demand, under which the quotation has risen to 107½ bid, and none offered under 110. The largely increased net earnings of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy place its ability to pay the usual 5 per cent. semi-annual dividend entirely out of question.

The following shows the highest and lowest sales of the leading stocks at the Stock Exchange for the week ending Saturday, August 15, 1874:

	Monday.	Tuesday.	Wed'day.	Thursday.	Friday.	Saturday.	Sales.
N. Y. C. & H. R....	100½ 101	100½ 100½	100½ 100½	100½ 101	101 101½	101½ 102	10,400
Lake Shore.....	72½ 73½	72½ 72½	72½ 72½	72½ 72½	72½ 72½	72½ 72½	53,300
Erie.....	32½ 32½	32½ 32½	32½ 32½	32½ 32½	32½ 32½	32½ 32½	8,400
Union Pacific.....	28½ 28½	28½ 28½	28½ 28½	28½ 28½	28½ 28½	28½ 28½	71,000
Chi. & N. W.....	91½ 91½	91½ 91½	91½ 91½	91½ 91½	91½ 91½	91½ 91½	93,500
Do. pfd.....	55½ 55½	55½ 55½	55½ 55½	55½ 55½	55½ 55½	55½ 55½	1,700
N. J. Central.....	104 104	104 104	104 104	104 104	104 104	104 104	100
Rock Island.....	99 99½	98½ 98½	98½ 98½	99 99	99 99	99 99	3,700
Mil. & St. Paul.....	34½ 34½	34½ 34½	34½ 34½	34½ 34½	34½ 34½	34½ 34½	24,100
Do. pfd.....	52½ 53½	52½ 53½	52½ 53½	52½ 53½	52½ 53½	52½ 53½	59
Wabash.....	35½ 35½	35½ 35½	35½ 35½	35½ 35½	35½ 35½	35½ 35½	18,000
D. L. & W.....	107½ 107½	107½ 107½	107½ 107½	107½ 107½	107½ 107½	107½ 107½	600
O. & M.....	24½ 24½	24½ 24½	24½ 24½	24½ 24½	24½ 24½	24½ 24½	28,000
C. C. & I. C.....	12½ 12½	12½ 12½	12½ 12½	12½ 12½	12½ 12½	12½ 12½	6,000
W. U. Tel.....	74½ 74½	74½ 74½	74½ 74½	74½ 74½	74½ 74½	74½ 74½	47,900
Pacific Mail.....	45½ 46½	45½ 46½	45½ 46½	45½ 46½	45½ 46½	45½ 46½	61,200

The transactions in Government bonds have been limited to the amount sufficient to supply the small current demand from investors. The Syndicate have disclosed none of their plans in placing the new 5's recently taken from the Government. It is said that the Rothschilds have determined to make the negotiation a success, not only as a business transaction, but to show what a great house can do.

The following were the closing quotations of Governments this evening:

	BID.	ASKED		BID.	ASKED
Registered 6's, 1881, c.....	118½	118½	Registered 5-20, 1867, c.....	117½	117½
Registered 5-20, 1862, c.....	111½	112½	Registered 5-20, 1868, c.....	117½	118½
Registered 5-20, 1864, c.....	115½	115½	Registered 10-40's, c.....	113½	113½
Registered 5-20, 1865, M and N.....	117½	117½	Registered 5's of 1881.....	111½	112½
Registered 5-20, 1865, J and J.....	116½	116½	U. S. Currency 6's.....	117½	118

The gold market has been weaker than it was last week, when the advance of 1 per cent. in the Bank of England discount rate and the increased specie shipments imparted a strong feeling to the premium. The range of fluctuations has been between the limits of 109½ and 110.

The following shows the range of quotations for every day during the week ending on Saturday:

	Monday, Aug. 10.	Tuesday, Aug. 11.	Wednesday, Aug. 12.	Thursday, Aug. 13.	Friday, Aug. 14.	Saturday, Aug. 15.
Opening.	110	110	109½	109½	109½	109½
Highest.	110	109½	109½	109½	109½	109½
Lowest.	109½	109½	109½	109½	109½	109½
Closing.	109½	109½	109½	109½	109½	109½

The specie shipments for the week amount to \$2,032,733, of which \$1,499,000 consisted of gold coin.

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